

THE
**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

1961

JANUARY 1961

SOCIALIST STANDARD

THE "HIGH WAGE" MYTH

"It should not be thought that the £14 a week wage is an average for all the 14 million men employed in all industries. It is in fact based on fewer than 5 million men If all the industries were included the average would be brought down quite a lot"

SEE PAGE 3

- UNEMPLOYMENT AT RENAULT
- FOOTBALLERS' STRIKE
- THIS BUSINESS OF ANTIQUES
- CUBAN BACKGROUND
- OSCAR WILDE AND SOCIALISM
- ROUBLE MILLIONAIRESS
- THE RISE OF THE MERCHANTS

JOURNAL OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

6^p

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON Thursdays 7.30 pm, Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (5th & 19th January) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 6th January at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 20th January at 32 Ickleton Road, Motttingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (5th January) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Caskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (5th Jan: discussion, 19th Jan: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 13 Shelley House, Churchill Gdns. SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (4th & 18th January) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (2nd & 16th January) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY Alternate Mondays (2nd, 16th & 30th January) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dannison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B., 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (4th & 18th January) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in month 7.30 pm, 3rd January at 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea and 17th January at 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs at above latter address.

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th & 27th January) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th & 26th January) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th & 27th January) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 17th January 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Haze 1 croft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex

★ Important Socialist Lectures

Central Club
127 Clerkenwell Road, EC1
Sundays 7.30 pm
from January 15th

DETAILS PAGE 16



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

January 1961 Vol 57 No 677

Contents

NEWS IN REVIEW 4

Unemployment at Renault
Fact, Fact, Fact
Pay off
Footballers' Strike
Bishops and Pawns

Cuban Background 5

Patriotism and Scarlet Coats 6

This Business of Antiques 7

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY 9

"High Prices!"
New Russian Rouble
Rouble Millionaire
The Economic Horizon

The Rise of the Merchants 10

The Passing Show 11

The Nature of the Universe 12

BOOKS 12-13

Oscar Wilde and Socialism
On Maps and Chaps

CINEMA: The Sweet Life 13

The New Cyprus Republic 14

LETTERS: When and How? 15

Party News 16

Meetings 16

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

The "High Wage" Myth

EVERY HALF-YEAR the newspapers publish Ministry of Labour figures of the average earnings of manual workers, and the figures always excite, angry letters from readers who don't believe that the average is now over £14 a week.

The latest inquiry related to April, 1960, and it showed that the average weekly earnings were £14 2s. 1d. for men; £6 3s. 1d. for youths and boys; £7 5s. 1d. for women of 18 and over; and £4 13s. 1d. for girls under 18.

For men the £14 2s. 1d. was for a working week of 48 hours, that is to say, it included pay for six or more hours' overtime; also for night work and Sunday work, and all kinds of bonus additions to ordinary pay. It was before any deductions had been made.

Being an average it included some industrial groups with earnings far above the average and some far below it. The top section was the motor vehicle group with £17 10s. 3d. a week, and the lowest, central and local government, £10 15s. 6d. a week. If the motor vehicle inquiry had been made in November, with something approaching 100,000 on short-time, the figure would have been far below £17 10s.

In any event it should not be thought that the £14 a week wage is an average for all the 14 million men employed in all industries. It is in fact based on fewer than five million men employed in manufacture and some non-manufacturing industries, but it does not include agriculture, coal, railways or the distributive and catering trades. (Nor does it include non-manual workers.)

If all the industries were included the average would be brought down quite a lot.

Many workers, including craftsmen, earn only their standard weekly rates or not much more, and, as the Royal Commission on the Police showed in its recent Report, the general level of skilled rates is nothing like £14. They obtained 34 craftsmen's rates from the Ministry of Labour (as at November 1, 1960) and found that the average for the 34 rates is only £10 8s. 3d. a week.

And the distributive trades are even worse off. The Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers is campaigning for higher pay and shorter hours for shop assistants and that Union is responsible for the statement that "one and a half million shop workers in Britain are only entitled to a wage of well below £10 a week for 46 or more hours' work" (*Reynolds News*, 4/12/60).

Reynolds News is the Cooperative Sunday newspaper and when it tells its readers "Don't Shop at Sweatshops" it means the worst payers among the private traders, but though the Co-operative societies often pay rather more, their wage agreements are not exactly princely. The Co-operative Agreement made in July, 1959, fixed a rate for men shop assistants ranging from £8 15s. in Provincial areas up to £9 9s. in London, and in July, 1960, the Union applied for a national minimum of £10 a week in cooperative societies as well as a reduction of hours from 44 to 40. The claim has not been conceded. Large numbers of railwaymen and government workers get below £9 a week, along with the agricultural worker on his new minimum of £8 9s.

NEWS IN REVIEW

Unemployment at Renault

"1900 WORKERS SACKED". This was a news item in *France-Soir* of November 3rd. The 1900 workers were employees of the French nationalised Renault motor car manufacturing concern. The discharges took place because the market has become overstocked and orders have fallen off.

This is a familiar feature of capitalist enterprise everywhere but the point to note is that Renault is a nationalised concern. Nationalisation has lost its appeal for most workers in Britain, but those who still think that it is a good thing should make a note that when the market becomes overstocked, even nationalised firms cannot continue to produce commodities for which there is no sale. They have to lay off the workers who have become surplus to requirements.

In the present case many of the workers at first declined to take their final pay packet and went to their benches as usual. They yielded, however, to the foreman's explanation that in view of the management's decision they could do nothing about it.

This brings to light one of the curious features of capitalism. Workers don't seem to object to slaving away week after week producing something, no matter what it is, so long as they draw a pay packet at the end of the week. They wouldn't mind if they kept on producing cars so that in the end there were so many of them that they had to run along on top of each other on the roads.

These contradictions are inherent in the capitalist order of society. Is it not time that workers started thinking about some other system—a system where goods could be produced to serve people's needs, where these needs could be assessed and production arranged accordingly.

Fact, Fact, Fact

THIRTEEN YEARS AGO, the Sunderland Corporation erected a lot of prefabricated houses. They were supposed to last for a few years, until better accommodation could be found.

Fact: These houses are now overdue for demolition—many of them are

damp and cold. But there is no prospect of rehousing their inhabitants.

Fact: Sunderland already has its hands too full with its present slum clearance programme to pay much attention to the plight of the people in its prefabricated slums.

Fact: Sunderland has built 15,000 houses since the war. There are 11,000 families still on the Corporation's waiting list.

Fact: Capitalist politicians have always promised to solve the housing problem. The problem is in building a lot of the cheap houses which workers can afford—and making their building pay. Under these conditions, society never even starts to solve the problem.

Fact: Workers in Sunderland—and the rest of the world—can end their housing problem by building a world where houses are put up for human beings to live in, and not for rent or sale.

Pay off

DID A LOT of workers misunderstand that boom in hire purchase? Did they think that, because they didn't have to pay a deposit, they didn't have to pay anything?

Perhaps the salesmen forgot to make it clear when the contracts were signed. Apparently a lot of people took on commitments which they could not fulfil and have piled up a great heap of bad debts. Some hire purchase companies, caught in the fierce competition of the boom, are now seen to have fallen in with very uncertain clients. As a result, there have been rumours in the City about the stability of two of the finance houses concerned and much talk of setting up a central record of credit-worthiness, where the H.P. history of any buyer could be checked.

This may solve some of the problems of the finance houses. But the central problem—the thing which causes hire purchase and all the other makeshifts—remains. Workers want the better things in life, sometimes for the convenience of using them, sometimes because their possession carries social standing. But very few workers have the money to buy these things, unless the hire purchase salesman lends a hand.

So they accept a lifetime mortgage on a house, years of sometimes swingeing repayments on a car, washing machine and so on. It needs only moderately bad times to come along to upset this precarious scheme of things entire. And

what has happened to the economists who assured us, in the post war years, that nobody would let a boom run away with itself again? The cut-throats in the hire purchase world have shown us that capitalism is just as unstable as it was in 1929.

There is no lack of experts—many of them officials in the consumer goods industries whose products are widely sold on H.P.—to tell us that the way out of this is to relax government restrictions. And there is no lack of prospective hire purchasers to support this view. In fact, the only solution is to have a world where things are made solely for use, not for purchase of any kind.

Footballers' Strike

TO MANY of the schoolboys who scuff out the toes of their shoes kicking an old tennis ball around a council school playground, the life of a professional footballer is a glamorous dream.

In fact, there is of course room at the top for only a very few, very good, footballers. These men can make a sumptuous living at the game. The rest have a hard time of it, on unremarkable pay and often under conditions of employment which an industrial trade union would not tolerate. Most footballers are looking for another job in their thirties, with little prospect of doing much better than a salesman or a shopkeeper. No professional player may publish a statement about the game without first having it vetted by his club—his employer.

The Professional Footballers' Association has asked to have the "slave" transfer system changed to abolish the ceiling on wages and to secure a share of a transfer fee for the player involved in the deal. To enforce these demands, the P.F.A. have threatened to call a strike. The bigger clubs can more easily afford to grant the players' demands, and foresee that to do so would help to defend their high position at the expense of the dingier clubs, many of which are already in deficit. It is, therefore, in the lower divisions that resistance to the P.F.A. is strongest.

Indignant fans, outraged players, angry club officials, have all had their say. Nobody, so far, has regretted that capitalist society makes a business of football and that the game is played, not for amusement and entertainment, but for investment. Like all the other superficially plausible criticisms of

capitalism, the grumbings about the footballers' lot are as wide of the mark as a fourth division centre forward.

Bishops and Pawns

THE CHURCH OF ROME takes every opportunity of informing the world at large that it is concerned with man's spiritual life and not his political one. Occasionally, however, its hypocrisy and cant blossom into the open, as was the case recently in Puerto Rico.

Governor Luis Marin of the Popular Democratic Party is noted for his support of birth control and easy divorce. This has aroused the ire of the Catholic Bishops of Puerto Rico, notably Bishop McMann, Bishop of Ponce, the island's second largest city. When recently the Governor stood for re-election, the antics of the Church were remarkable even for a country as backward as Puerto Rico. Early in the election campaign, Bishop McMann opened fire with a pastoral letter to be read in every church. He asked the Catholics, who constitute 90 per cent. of the inhabitants, to throw out the Democrats and vote for a newly formed Christian Action Party. He also warned his brethren that to vote for Marin was a sin. During the election, the Bishop's efforts proved of no avail: the Governor was re-elected, and we would have expected the Bishops to quieten down. But not them. Having failed to terrify the Puerto Rican peasants by words, they are now literally putting the "fear of Christ" into them.

For a fortnight, at all Sunday Masses in San Juan Cathedral, the Pastor told his parishioners that they would have to confess to the sin of voting for the Democrats before they could receive Holy Communion. And what is more, before penitents could receive absolution, they had to promise not to vote for the Democrats again.

In this so-called enlightened age of ours it is important not to forget the power of the Church.

Cuban Background

TO ANYONE WHO FOLLOWS the Latin American scene, so many aspects of Cuban politics seem familiar that there is a danger of failing to see just what distinguishes the Cuban question from the traditional turmoil in that part of the world.

When Spain's colonies in the New World fought for independence a hundred and fifty years ago, their main source of inspiration was revolutionary France and the young United States. However, in one fundamentally important respect they fell short of the requirements of real social change; a unified and coherent class demanding the overthrow of the outmoded system on the strength of its mastery of the new productive and social forces.

As the present situation in the Congo shows, not all independence movements are the expression of a powerful embryo bourgeoisie, ready to effectively take the place of the former Imperialists on the backs of the local working-class and peasantry. The ousting of Spain from the Americas was due more to the weakness of Spain than to the strength of its colonies. The social vacuum, the rapid collapse into anarchy could not, in those days, become the concern of a United Nations Organisation acting as a broker and a policeman of international capital. The high-flown language of the constitutions drawn up by the South American disciples of Washington, Jefferson and even Tom Paine was not matched by the level of economic and class development in their respective regions. From Mexico in the north to Argentina in the south the whole continent was to relapse into a state of autocracy where power rested with decadent, constantly feuding land-owning interests.

At the turn of this century, the needs of European Industrialism led to the "Scramble for Africa." Perhaps less spectacularly, and certainly without the

formal annexation of territory as was the case in Africa, a similar process began in the Americas. The outcome of this process has, to a remarkable degree, run parallel to Afro-Asian developments. Britain, France, the USA and then Italy, Germany and Japan have, over the years, poured capital in and drained profits out. Vast rail networks were established. Soon hides and grain, meat and coffee, sugar and bananas, were flowing onto the world market.

The precious metals that had provided the funds for Spain's "siglo de oro," its century of supreme power and culture, were no longer of prime importance. Not silver from the mines of Potosí, but tin from neighbouring parts of Bolivia, was to become the source of immense wealth for the mighty foreign Corporations who were equally busy in their exploitation of copper and nitrates from Chile, petroleum from Venezuela, quebracho from Paraguay, and so on. Countries, most of them larger than any in Europe, were to become utterly dependent upon a single crop; here coffee, there bananas or sugar.

Guatemala, which in its time played the rôle of David to the American Goliath, is known as a banana republic. In Cuba, on whom the mantle has fallen, it is sugar that dominates. True, tobacco from these parts is justly famous throughout the world. In view of Cuba's increasingly intimate relationship with the Russian Capitalist bloc we may yet witness the paradox of the Havana cigar as a status symbol of the Russian ruling class. We shall see bloated Commissars yet! Nevertheless, it is sugar that is Cuba's economic life. As goes sugar so goes Cuba—boom or slump; it is the basis of its foreign trade which in this context means, overwhelmingly, trade with the USA. Fidel Castro now challenges the status quo.

As a "middle-class" Robin Hood,

What Can I Do?

- ★ Get Newsagents to sell the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Subscriptions for the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Libraries to display the Socialist Standard
- ★ Persuade friends and workmates to buy the Socialist Standard
- ★ Sell and Display the Socialist Standard everywhere

Fidel readily appealed to an American public weaned on the exploits of Davy Crockett. At the point where it became evident that in serving the needs of aspiring Cuban Capitalism the existing order of things would be upset, Castro fell from his pedestal. He was unmasked as the harbinger of "Communism" (read, Russian influence) in the Western Hemisphere. The bearded warrior of the mountains was romantic no longer.

The modern history of Cuba could be written around its relations with the

United States. Of all the former Spanish colonies it was the last to break from the grip of the old country. It did so only to find itself a virtual colony of its erstwhile ally; to such an extent that there was an American governor at first, and U.S. troops were not withdrawn from the island until eleven years after the signing of the peace treaty with Spain in 1898. U.S. marines returned "to restore law and order" in 1920. The United States census of 1947 revealed that their industrial investments alone were only slightly less in Cuba than in Brazil; \$64,000,000 as against \$65,000,000*. This figure later increased.

Trade Unions

Through this century, Cuban government has been a succession of "strong-men," as *Time* magazine likes to call them, who have depended upon American patronage. Fractional alterations in U.S. sugar tariffs in line with the protectionist demands of Hawaii or Porto Rico have had overnight repercussions on the Cuban economy. Laws passed by the U.S. Senate actually reducing Cuba's sugar quota, as in 1951, when the quota was varied in favour of Trujillo's Dominican Republic, Peru and Porto Rico could mean and often did lead to gross economic instability. In working-class terms this means unemployment, destitution.

Out of bitter experience there grew in the 1930's a significant labour movement. In a limited sphere, in the cigarette and cigar factories and the Havana docks, Spanish immigrants of the Anarcho-Syndicalist school had introduced the principles of trade-unionism at the turn of the century. In more recent times a far wider range of trades has become involved although at the price of Stalinist influence out-weighing that of the old Anarcho-Syndicalists who, for all their faults, did not compromise their class interests with the state requirements of a world power as do the so-called Communists. In fact, the Communists' record in Cuba puts them in a rather curious position in relation to the current "togetherness" of their home and "mother" countries.

Batista, murderous and corrupt. Farouk to Castro's Nasser, had been given Communist support in his early days of power.** It was he who gave the Party legal recognition. Batista came

to power first in October, 1940. In December of that year the second congress of the Communist-slanted Workers Federation of Cuba, T.U.C. of sorts, drew up a statement with which a Socialist could scarcely disagree.

Cuban workers . . . resolve to struggle against the Imperialist war, to expose its Imperialist character and the war-aims of both belligerents and to develop a nation-wide movement to ensure that our country keeps out of this criminal conflict.

When "you know what" happened, new instructions were given out. The first resolution to be carried at the third congress of the C.T.C. went as follows:

The supreme task of the labour movement at the present time is to concentrate all its efforts and to use all its might towards the defeat of the Axis. Workers organised under the C.T.C. are willing to collaborate with all those in favour of national unity, that is to say, willing to subordinate any grievances that may arise within the country in their over-riding interest in destroying the foreign enemy. For the duration of the war, Cuban workers wish to avoid strikes and disputes likely to interfere with production.

The congress called upon working-class youth to volunteer for service at the war-front.

C.P. just in time

Communist support for Castro's guerrilla struggle came late but, like Russia's entry into the war against Japan, in time! At this stage, however, it would be a mistake to regard Castro as a Caribbean Kadar, a mere puppet of the Eastern bloc. Like many a Nationalist before him he is attempting to play off one great power against another in the hope that advantages will accrue to the would-be élite he represents. It is the universal demand of the Latin American bourgeoisie to free their respective national economies from the preponderance of Anglo-American capital.

As early as 1926, in a polemic with Lozowsky, chief of the Profintern, Haya de la Torre, of Peru, pioneer student of the development processes of backward countries within the Imperialist orbit, denied the accusation by the Communists that he favoured unconditional support of Japan in the event of a war between that country and the U.S.A. Nevertheless, he considered it would be a valuable opportunity to take advantage of their rivalry.* A mightier rival appears on

the scene and, one by one, the Latin American rulers see how to use their bargaining position to diversify their means of production and to intensify or quite often to initiate industrial development. Back in Havana from Prague just recently, a Castro man announced he had secured promises to establish thirty new industries by East European concerns. Of course, for a small power to attempt playing off the great powers involves considerable risks. It is sometimes swallowed up in the process.

The overthrow of the Batista clique with its record of gangsterism in the Chicago tradition, has been followed by a vigorous and forward-looking régime under a new dictator; what in Spanish is wryly called a "dictablanda" rather than a "dictadura," a mild dictatorship whose authority is used towards social reorganisation rather than to feather the generalissimo's private nest. Be that as it may, the massive programme of nationalising most Western owned utilities, agrarian reform meaning the break-up and redistribution amongst the rural population of the great estates (a retrograde step from the long term point of view), the attack upon widespread illiteracy add up to a really serious attempt on the part of Cuba to enter the Capitalist arena on a more equal footing.

In Europe, Imperialism is the culmination of a series of developments within Capitalism and is characterised by the export of capital and the capturing of markets and sources of raw materials in the economically backward countries. However, what in Europe is (according to Haya de la Torre whom we are quoting) "the last phase of Capitalism," is in Latin America the first. For us Indo-Americans, imported capital marks our first step in modern capitalist society.*

Pending a dramatic awakening of working-class consciousness within the metropolitan powers, the repetition elsewhere of our own bitter experience seems inevitable, though tragically so. But this much, at least, we can say: that the Socialist, on the strength of his Marxian analysis, cannot be deluded into believing that this latter-day development of Capitalism, the most inhuman of all social systems, whether of the state-owned variety or not, is the first stage of our revolution; the beginnings of a society built democratically by a conscious, international working-class to serve human needs on the basis of common ownership of the means of living—Socialism. Would that it were!

E. S. G.

* *El antimperialismo y el APRA*, pp. 51.

This Business of Antiques

ANTIQUES are a fascinating subject, but also a vast one, beyond the scope of this brief article. Here we can concern ourselves with such aspects as their collection by the élite of society, their haphazard donation or loaning to museums and, later, the production of "fake" antiques as a result of our commercial system.

Our story begins with the archeological efforts of Sir Arthur Evans at Cnossos on the Mediterranean island of Crete, who revealed an early Grecian civilisation of a high order, until then unknown.

These excavations early in the 20th century prove that, nearly four thousand years ago and at least five hundred years before the pottery of Athens achieved its ceramic supremacy, the craftsmen of Crete were producing articles for ornament and use in gold, ivory and porcelain of excellent design and execution. This Cretan civilisation, together with its contemporary cultures in other parts of the world, represents mankind's first steps from tribal society.

Two thousand years afterwards, the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 created a primitive museum for many fine examples of Man's early works of art later to be unearthed by archeologists. These excavations revealed floors of mosaic, mural paintings, gold and silver ornaments and bronze busts, all of great beauty—whilst similar operations at Herculaneum were richer still in the artistic craftsmanship of the period.

During the period between the contemporary civilisation of Crete, Babylon, and Egypt, and the unearthing of the Pompeian treasures, Man's cultural activity portrayed changes in his development as he reacted to his material environment—changing it and then changing himself. From the 7th century B.C. up to the 4th century A.D. the pottery of Athens was symbolical of the stage of ceramic achievement of this period, whilst Byzantine art, a combination of Greek, Persian and Roman culture, was influenced by the rise of Christianity, with the symbol of the cross embodied in many designs. Indeed this motif is still with us, although religious items are not good sellers in the modern antique trade and probably the "cult of the cross" is on the wane.

Examples of Celtic art are provided by 8th century bronze shields of

Ireland and the famous Tara brooch of Dublin from the 10th century. Craftsmen in Scandinavia also produced many beautiful designs in bronze and silver, their Viking ship incorporated a bronze dragon prow reflecting the early Icelandic sagas, recorded by William Morris in his epic poem—*Sigurd the Volsung*. It is also interesting to note that in the 12th century their pagan gods, Thor and Woden, overlapped in culture the rising Christian symbol, in a similar way that the Cretan culture influenced early Greek and Roman art.

The 16th century witnessed the introduction into Europe of Chinese porcelain with its motif dragon patterns and the purity of the Ming dynasty productions. These early craftsmen of China, produced a hard paste porcelain which was the forerunner of what is known all over the world to-day as "china".

Two hundred years later saw porcelain being produced in England at Bow, Bristol, Worcester, Derby and Longton Hall, while in 1775 Josiah Wedgwood introduced his famous Jasper ware at Etruria and of course this popular Wedgwood is still being produced to-day. Much could be written of the beauties of Dresden Candelabra, Meissen Figurine, Sevres vases, Chelsea groups etc. but enough has been said in this context, we hope, to explain the origin of antiques. We must now pass from the historical side of the subject to the economic for a continuation of our brief review.

Economics of Antiques

The commercial rule for determining whether an article qualifies for the description of "antique" is laid down by H.M. Customs and Excise Department in that it must be at least a hundred years of age to escape customs import duty.

Unlike new commodities, antiques have no exact price ticket range, but the post-war demand, mostly from America, has produced a pretty keen market for certain items, such as old Ruby glass ware, Staffordshire pottery figurine, early Wedgwood, pewter plates and tankards, Sheffield plate, Georgian silver-ware and jewellery, flint lock and percussion pistols.

There are those who patriotically lament this drain on stocks of antiques in Britain. They would do well to con-



JANUARY 1911

PATRIOTISM AND SCARLET COATS

Our ruling class can see that their Continental rivals are determined to obtain as large a share of the markets of the world as possible, and that sooner or later this must culminate in world-wide disruption. Hence their anxiety on the score of "patriotism." Lord Esher gives expression to his anxious thoughts in the suggestion that "patriotism" is an attribute of the empty-headed. "How can you expect," he writes, "recruits for your Territorial Force, when you dress them unbecomingly?" One paper, commenting on his noble Lordship's article, suggests "a scarlet coat and a towering headdress" as the most effective appeal to the "patriotism" of the working class, though whether on the old, tried and trusty ground that those who have least in their heads must make the greatest show on them, or on the later calculation that now the workers are discovering how little country they have to fight for they may be induced to fight for their togs if only they are sufficiently removed from the humdrum drab of the corduroy to enable them to forget that they are countryless workers, does not transpire.

From "The Decline of Patriotism,"
SOCIALIST STANDARD, January 1911.

* Germán Arciniegas "The State of Latin America," pp. 302.

** M. Poblete. *El movimiento obrero latinoamericano*, pp. 196.

* Haya de la Torre. *El antimperialismo y el APRA*, pp. 101.

sider the reason, which is that, in a buying and selling world—with commodities “constantly in love with money” as Marx aptly put it—antiques represent a use-value to those American buyers wealthy enough to purchase an 18th century background for their 20th century mansions. In such a transaction antiques represent the usual be-all and end-all of commerce—a profit to the British seller, whose patriotism melts, “like snow upon the desert’s dusty face” at every chance of a profitable deal. In any event the denuding of Britain’s art stores is no more cause for shedding working-class tears, than the loss of a few colonies from the British Empire. Art treasures may certainly change their geographical position, but, like the colonies, they remain in the ownership of the capitalist class of the world. However, although antiques may vanish from the shores of Britain, it may also be relevant to enquire from where they came.

The collecting of antiques in England was largely initiated by the Earl of Arundel who in 1624 sent his agent, one William Petty, on an art-hunting expedition to Greece. Apparently Mr. Petty excelled himself in this task, sending to England, many consignments of Grecian statues, bronze busts etc., in a prodigious effort to denude Greece of its native art. Eventually, so numerous became the collection of nude statues in the Earl’s garden, that Sir Francis Bacon (so the story goes) coming upon them for the first time, stopped short and exclaimed—“The Resurrection!”

Some 270 years later, we find a sort of sequel to this transplanting of antiques from one geographical area to another in a controversy in the British Parliament about the return to Ireland of some very valuable ancient Irish ornaments, found in Ireland by a “poor” man and purchased by trustees of the British Museum for a paltry £600. During the discussion a Mr. Leighton quite logically asked where this system of restitution was to end and if the British Museum would return the objects they had taken from Greece and Egypt? Apparently this question fell on deaf ears, but then—any reader visiting the British Museum will find the answer.

In addition to the existence of genuine antiques, there is the problem,

thrown up by the cesspool of commerce, of “faked” antiques which originally graced the drawing rooms and china cabinets of bourgeois mansions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Fakes of old Chelsea porcelain are too numerous to mention. While Staffordshire pottery “Toby jugs” made last week and buried in the earth to produce signs of age, which may not deceive a connoisseur, are foisted on to many a dealer and eventually sold to the usual credulous “man in the street”. Items of furniture, appearing on the market as “Sheraton” or “Chippendale” mysteriously increase the production (not the profits!) of those early craftsmen.

Some years ago, the writer purchased a three-piece set of china figurine that appeared to be Chelsea, complete with the well known “gold anchor” mark. Actually they were produced by a ceramics manufacturer in France who specialises in faking the valuable early Chelsea art, no doubt at times with success! This counterfeit Chelsea was being produced in Paris as early as 1850, and in Belgium there is a factory producing counterfeit Sevres and Dresden porcelains. The difficulty of detecting these spurious wares by amateur buyers is spotlighted by the fact that experts themselves are at times deceived. For instance, J. H. Yoxall, who was a member of the Select Committee of the House of Commons which investigated in 1898 some forgeries of antiques bought by the Victoria and Albert Museum, found that a platter of Palissy ware bought for the museum at £200 was a forgery from France, originally sold by the French makers at £10 each! This same Museum also paid several hundred of pounds for a Sedan chair supposed to be a genuine antique which had genuine panels only let into a brand new chair!

To give an up-to-date example, the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* recently reported on Indian artisans who have resorted to faking ancient statuettes by buying new sculptures and tarnishing them.

All this merely goes to show that so long as antiques are part of a buying and selling world, it is a branch of commerce that bristles with pitfalls for the unwary, as it is only an expert who can detect real age, for instance, by the Patina which is a result of the chemical action of light and air over the years.

Apart from the waste of energy and material in the production of fake antiques, most dealers, whether handling the spurious output to which the

profit motive leads or the “real McCoy” are primarily concerned with the cash value represented thereby, and appreciation of their intrinsic artistic beauty is a secondary consideration.

Private collections of antiques are a bugbear peculiar to a class-divided society, because instead of being freely available for social enjoyment and cultural education, they are confined within the mansions of the wealthy in an ostentatious and snobbish display of opulence. As an illustration—at the recent exhibition of private collections of paintings (some 250) on view in Manchester City Art Gallery, one Reynolds had not been viewed by the public since 1884! Another very large beautiful painting by Stubbs of a grey mare and foals had been exhibited only once before. Just how much of the art heritage of the past remains hidden from society is anybody’s guess!

This state of affairs is, of course, the result of our class-divided society and will only be abolished through the establishment of a class-less Socialist society ending the buying and selling of the commercial system, thus opening up new vistas of social enjoyment of the artistry of mankind.

As it is, “Mine and Thine” is the ruling ethic in the art world of to-day, and along with a host of other privileges goes “an environment of *objets d’art*.” To have one’s walls adorned with a Reynolds, a Rembrandt, or a Millais, tables in antique silver with Sevres porcelain, one must belong to the non-producing class in our present social system.

Inevitably, as a result of this class division, the shoddy goods of multiple stores provide a tasteless and cheap facade for the Pre-fab, semi-detached and tenement homes of the mass of humanity.

We see, therefore, that it is the commodity nature of antiques that stands in the way of their social ownership and so long as they remain such they will be used as status symbols of false values in a snobbish world. But make no mistake; appreciation of the arts is no biological peculiarity of the minority rulers of society, neither has it anything to do with the colour of one’s blood. It is simply a matter of having time to devote, and access to artistic productions, in order to appreciate them.

This Socialism alone can provide and surely this is not an impossible task for modern man to achieve.

G. R. RUSSELL

Finance & Industry



A WOMAN READER of the *Evening News* (28/11/60) wrote referring to the old saying that what goes up must come down, and asked if this applies to the cost of living; “if so I haven’t noticed it”.

About 99 per cent. of the population would say, if asked, that they “want prices to come down”. They don’t really mean this. What they mean is that it would be very nice if the prices of the things they buy went down and the price of the thing they sell went up. The worker would like to sell his mental and physical energies to his employer at a higher price (a higher wage) and at the same time get more for each pound he spends, through lower prices in the shop. And manufacturers who sell industrial products would like to see those prices go up and all other prices (including wages) go down.

One exception to this general attitude is the common practice of trade unions of associating themselves with their employers in approving higher prices. Thus the railway unions approve higher fares and the coal miners higher prices for coal.

But coming back to the question in the *Evening News*, would workers be better off if prices were lower? France a few months ago and Russia this month gave one kind of answer to the question, the answer being that it did not make any difference. What happened was that France cut the face value of her currency by 100, and the Russians cut their rouble by 10. At the same time all prices, wages, fares, etc., were cut in the same proportion, so everyone was in just the same position as before.

But on some occasions prices have not been reduced by this kind of government action but have fallen under the influence of trading conditions. Did the workers gain then?

It happened in 1920-1922. Between November 1920 and December 1922 prices fell on average of 35 per cent.;

If only prices would come down!

like being able to buy for 13/- some article which had cost 20/-.

But in the same period wage rates fell on average by the same percentage (or perhaps a little more). So the worker who could buy articles at lower prices had fewer shillings in his wage packet to buy the articles with.

It was a time when unemployment was heavy and conditions were particularly unfavourable for trade union resistance to wage cuts.

New Russian Rouble

THE DECLARATION of the Russian government that as from 1 January 1961 the official rate of exchange of the rouble will be 2.52 to the £ which will make it of higher value than the dollar and equal to about 8/-, will not mean much in practice since (unlike the dollar) it is not tied to gold and is not freely convertible into pounds or dollars. Commentators in the newspapers mostly take the line that the aim of the Russian government is prestige, the satisfaction of having at least a nominal exchange rate greater than that of the dollar. In addition however there is already the long term purpose of making the rouble eventually a gold backed world currency acceptable in international trade as the pound and dollar have been.

The *Daily Worker* (17/11/60) anticipates that “the new exchange rates and the change in the gold content of the rouble herald the opening up of peaceful competition between the rouble and the dollar”, and “It may not be long before the rouble begins to challenge the dollar for primacy in world trade”.

There was a time when even the *Daily Worker* would have recognised that the trade war between capitalist states is anything but “peaceful competition”.

Rouble Millionaires

THE *Daily Telegraph* (6/12/60) tells of a Russian woman who got into the ranks of the rouble millionaires by a piece of private enterprise that landed her in jail for three years. She ran an organisation, complete with a lawyer as secretary, a “scientific consultant”, an accountant, and a network of agents selling cure-all herbs at 45/- a packet. When arrested

she had 700,000 roubles (worth about £60,000 at the old rate of exchange) and had just bought a country house for 300,000 roubles. “Her daily earnings would sometimes amount to 5,000 roubles, or eight times a worker’s monthly wage”.

The Economic Horizon

A YEAR AGO most of the political and economic forecasters were happy about the boom time ahead and still confident that if anything went wrong the government could fairly easily take the steps that would put the economy back on expansion. Now they are not so sure. The fact that they are all asking the question is itself a pointer to growing uneasiness, made greater by the foreseeable but generally not foreseen collapse of motor exports.

Now it is accepted that America and Canada are likely to have unemployment greater than in any year since the end of the war and there is the natural fear that British export trade may fall further and the jobless increase in number.

Gone is the post-war optimism based on the belief that they could always dip into the Keynesian remedies and keep everything under control. One of the current activities is the setting up of export councils to boost the sale of British goods in overseas markets, including the Export Council for Europe set up by the Federation of British Industries and manned by “some of the most prominent men in British industry and commerce” (*Financial Times*, 11/11/60).

But before anyone accepts that the export problems of British capitalism can readily be solved by pushing into other markets (and thereby crowding out some other would-be sellers) it has to be remembered that other sections of the capitalist class would have had the same idea. Canada has appointed a “super salesman” to head its export drive, in the person of a new Minister of Trade and Commerce, and the American government is trying to boost their exports. Sweden, too, is aiming to solve its problems by more exports, and their eyes are fixed on the market for their goods in Britain. And to add to the troubles of all of them Russian exports are finding their way into many of the world’s competitive markets.

Paul Bureau, the new economic editor

GLASGOW LECTURES

Sundays 7-30

details page 16

of the *Daily Mail* (25/11/60) argues that the present troubles in this country are due to "the excessive optimism and rashness of the years 1958 and 1959. Restrictions on hire purchase should never have been completely removed. This freedom was abused and we are now paying the price".

So you take your choice between those who say that there is no need to worry because the government can always take action to put things right, and those who say, like Mr. Bareau, that the government did take steps but they were the wrong ones and had the effect of making things worse.

However, Mr. Bareau is cautiously hopeful. "The coming year will provide plenty of problems; but they will not be the problems of a great slump".

H.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me
the Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

The Rise of the Merchants

Notes on Economic History (3)

THE EARLIER FEUDAL ECONOMY had to be curbed by the encouragement of manufacture through privileges and monopolies (thus breaking the power of the Guilds), through exemption from taxation, and through other forms of support. Skilled craftsmen were imported, industrial secrets were purchased or stolen. On the other hand, by official supervision of the whole process of production, industry was to be kept up to the mark, and at the same time the consumer was to be protected by subjecting the process of sale to inspection. Here the traditions and customs of the older urban economy showed their influence.

Another method adopted was the establishment of colonies and trading companies. The East India Company, founded in 1660, was given the right in 1661 to carry on war and make peace in non-Christian countries. Similar companies were set up by other Powers.

Attempts were made to provide cheap labour so as to promote and strengthen industry. One method was to encourage the increase of population (a special need in Germany in those days after the Thirty Years War); prohibitions on marriage were removed and payments made to fathers of large families. Another was to cheapen the necessities of life, so that wages could be kept down. Foodstuffs were freed from import duty, while high levies were placed on exported grain, or its export totally forbidden. These measures were opposed to the interests of the agriculturalists but, though not openly advocated, were often put into practice, for example in France by Colbert.

Finally, the output of gold and silver was to be increased where possible by mining in the home-land, assisted by state subsidies if needed. The attraction of wealthy foreigners into the country, the prohibition of the export of precious metals, and similar measures, were to supplement and round off the expedients for increasing the national wealth.

A survey of mercantilist policy shows that its advocates placed great importance on money, but did not hold that money was an end in itself; they valued it for its productive effects. Thomas Munn, the mercantilist, wrote "money begets trade" and "trade increases money". Charles Davenant, of

the same school, says "Foreign trade brings in the stock. This stock, well and industriously managed, betters land, and brings more products of all kinds for exportation; the returns of which growth and product are to make a country gainers in the balance". Colbert says the same thing from the outlook of the State financier: "If there be money in the country, the desire to turn it to advantage makes people set it in motion, and public funds benefit thereby".

It is necessary to remember that mercantilism differed greatly at different times and in different countries. In England, Holland and Italy, it was predominantly commercial; in France and Germany it was rather industrial. These variations notwithstanding, and allowing for differences in the details of application, all the European rulers and statesmen from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century were guided by the principles set out above.

In England, though agriculture and manufacture were not neglected, mercantilism had a strong commercial trend. Cromwell's Navigation Law of 1651 decreed that no merchandise from Asia, Africa or America should be imported, except in ships built in England, owned by English subjects, navigated by English captains, with at least three-fourths of the crew English. Sea-borne commerce from England to other European countries was to be carried either in English boats, or else in ships belonging to the country with which trade was being carried on.

These conditions meant a practical monopoly of the seas for the English, to the detriment of the Dutch carrying-trade. By a treaty of 1703, Portuguese ports were opened to British woollens in return for concessions to Portugal allowing the importation of wine into Great Britain.

In Germany and Austria, owing to the devastation of the Thirty Years War, the need to increase the population was of paramount importance. There could not be much endeavour to promote foreign trade. The main concern was to hinder imports from countries whose manufactured goods were so cheap that the competition could not be met. A demand for laws to limit expenditure on clothes, food, furniture, etc. was a feature of mercantilism here.

In Italy, in conformity with the nature

of the financial and commercial aristocracies of the republics of that period, the mercantilist school was especially interested in the balance of trade and monetary problems.

In France, Jean Baptiste Colbert was the most successful exponent of the mercantile system, especially after 1666 when he became controller general of the national finances. At the time he took office, French industry was a long way behind England, and even Germany, and the finances and administration were in a bad state. It was not long before internal customs dues had been largely abolished, canals had been made, and skilled workmen and contractors attracted from other countries. By such stimulants as State subsidies, protective duties, and the establishment of technical schools, French industry began to flourish.

Adam Smith considered the mercan-

tilists as a school of united thinkers. This is not so. Mercantilism was essentially a vague principle of applied economics, stemming from the historical, economic, and political foundations of the period. The economists of those days, in order to further the advance from the feudal and localised urban economy to a unified national economy, had to put forward the ideas of the balance of trade, attach great importance to money, study the effects of customs tariffs, examine the source of national wealth, and thus come to form a durable though somewhat loosely organised unity.

It was the economics of early capitalism—the period of history in which Capitalists and Workers make their appearance, showing a difference in the form of the class struggle from the feudal period before it.

R.A.

The Passing Show

The fruits of leisure

THERE WAS an interesting interview with Professor J. D. Bernal in the last issue of the *Sunday Empire News* before it joined the ranks of those fallen in the newspaper war. "Properly developed and properly utilised, the world can amply support its people", said the Professor. There could be an "abundant" society, with working time reduced to four hours a day, three days a week. The Professor went on:

There would have to be a change in culture. People will be educated, fully or part-time, up to the age of 30. Probably they will retire at 45. If they wanted, they could take months or even years off work.

In fact, people who didn't want to wouldn't necessarily have to work. Five per cent of the population could produce all the food that was needed for the rest, and another 10 per cent could produce all the goods that were necessary.

They could explore all the fruits of leisure, the arts, the crafts, music and painting. In space exploration there would be all the adventure for the people who wanted adventure. And equal scope to grow roses or something for the people who did not want adventure.

Professor Bernal was simply giving facts which support our contention that the productivity powers developed within capitalism have now reached the stage when an abundant non-coercive society

is possible—what we call Socialism. Unfortunately, however, instead of devoting his efforts to work for this new society, Professor Bernal continues to give his support to the Communist Party and the Eastern bloc—which are dedicated to state capitalism. Some of those supporting state capitalism may do so partly because they do not realise that a Socialist society is possible. Professor Bernal, though, clearly has not got this excuse.

Property

JESUS IS REPORTED to have told one man who wanted to join his band of disciples "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor" (Luke, 18, 22). However, it would be unwise to assume that those who claim to be Christians have got any great desire to follow this advice, as one old woman found out recently. A widow of 71, she "was sentenced to seven years' preventive detention at London Sessions . . . for stealing two brass ornaments from St. John's Church, Islington. It was stated that she had 16 previous convictions, nine for stealing ornaments from churches" (*The Guardian*, 12/11/60). This unfortunate perhaps doesn't realise that whatever the Bible may say, in a capitalist society the Christian churches hang on to their property as tightly as, if not more tightly than, anyone else.

In sentencing the woman, the Chairman of the Sessions remarked: "You have lived a drab life. I suppose you have no ambition except to go back to prison and indeed I am told you would prefer to go there as you have no home outside. It is probably the best place for you." If this is true, it means that one of our fellow members of the working class prefers the inhumanities of jail to the joys of the "free" life outside it. This will take some explaining away by the advocates of our supposedly "never had it so good" society.

Substantial number

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Rhodesian Federal Prime Minister, recently defended the present Rhodesian set-up in the Federal Parliament. As part of a list of advances towards "multi-racialism" which he claimed had been made, he said "In private life there are already a few African professional men operating under European conditions in cities and there is a substantial number of successful African businessmen." But Sir Roy was wide of the mark in giving this as a reason why the existing settlers' government should be left in undisturbed control of Rhodesia. The "substantial number of African businessmen", the developing African capitalist class, is in fact the main reason why the days of the settlers' government are numbered. A government based on landed interests can hold on for a certain time in certain conditions when capitalism is expanding in a country. It may lean over backwards, as it thinks, in its efforts to be fair to the growing capitalist class. But when a country's capitalist class comes to maturity, then nothing will content it but the full control of political as well as economic power. Welensky and his settlers, in fact, as the rulers of Rhodesia are doomed.

A.W.F.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

On a Socialists Bookshelf

LUCRETIUS (about 100BC - 50BC)

THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE

Nothing can ever be created by divine power out of nothing. The reason why all mortals are so gripped by fear is that they see all sorts of things happening on the earth and in the sky with no discernible cause, and these they attribute to the will of a god. Accordingly, when we have seen that nothing can be created out of nothing, we shall then have a clearer picture of the path ahead, the problem of how things are created and occasioned without the aid of the gods.

Learn, therefore that the universe is not bounded in any direction. If it were, it would necessarily have a limit somewhere. But clearly a thing cannot have a limit unless there is something outside to limit it, so that the eye can follow it up to a certain point but not beyond. Since you must admit that there is nothing outside the universe, it can have no limit and is accordingly without end or measure. It makes no odds in which part of it you may take your stand: whatever spot anyone may occupy, the universe stretches away from him just the same in all directions without limit. Suppose for a moment that the whole of space were bounded and that someone made his way to its uttermost boundary and threw a flying dart. Do you choose to suppose that the missile, hurled with might and main, would speed along the course on which it was aimed? Or do you think something would block the way and stop it? You must assume one alternative or the other. But neither of them leaves you a loophole. Both force you to admit that the universe continues without end. Whether there is some obstacle lying on the boundary line that prevents the dart from going farther on its course or whether it flies on beyond, it cannot in fact have started from the boundary. With this argument I will pursue you. Wherever you may place the ultimate limit of things, I will ask you: "Well then, what does happen to the dart?" The upshot is that the boundary cannot stand firm anywhere, and final escape from this conclusion is precluded by the limitless possibility of running away from it.

Extracted from the edition published by Penguin Books (2s. 6d.)

Oscar Wilde and Socialism

THE SOUL OF MAN UNDER SOCIALISM by Oscar Wilde; included in "Essays and Poems of Oscar Wilde". Penguin Books 2s. 6d.

OSCAR WILDE died before the Socialist Party had been founded. It would therefore be a barren exercise at this stage to debate whether Wilde was a Socialist in the exact meaning of that term. What is beyond doubt is that there is in this essay much that the Socialist will agree with, and much more than could form the basis of rewarding discussion. There is no need to be put off by the title: by "soul" Wilde clearly meant nothing more than mind—his choice of words has no religious implications.

It is true that part of the essay has little to do with Socialism in any economic sense—nearly half of it is taken up by a diatribe against any attempt at dictation to the artist, whether by government or public opinion. But when Wilde keeps to what is directly relevant, it is a joy to read his sparkling prose, and to see how he hammers his points home.

What of the do-gooders, for example, who try to alleviate the ills of society by well-meaning charity? Wilde writes:

Their remedies do not cure the disease; they merely prolong it. Indeed, their remedies are part of the disease. They try to solve the problem of poverty, for instance, by keeping the poor alive; or, in the case of a very advanced school, by amusing the poor. But this is not a solution; it is an aggravation of the difficulty. The proper aim is to try and reconstruct society on such a basis that poverty will be impossible. . . . It is immoral to use private property in order to alleviate the horrible evils that result from the institution of private property. It is both immoral and unfair.

Of the poor, Wilde says:

Why should they be grateful for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table? They should be seated at the board, and are beginning to know it. As for those of the workers who

accept their conditions, who have "made private terms with the enemy":

I can quite understand a man accepting laws that protect private property, and admit of its accumulation, as long as he himself is able under those conditions to realise some form of beautiful and intellectual life. But it is almost incredible to me how a man whose life is marred and made hideous by such laws can possibly acquiesce in their continuance.

Wilde would have nothing to do with the state capitalism that is now often passed off as "Socialism":

If the Socialism is authoritarian; if there are Governments armed with economic power as they are now with political power; if, in a word, we are to have Industrial tyrannies, then the last state of man will be worse than the first.

He saw that a revolutionary change in the economic basis of society was necessary, and that this would have inevitable repercussions in the social superstructure:

When private property is abolished there will be no necessity for crime, no demand for it; it will cease to exist. . . . Though a crime may not be against property, it may spring from the misery and rage and depression produced by our wrong system of property-holding, and so, when that system is abolished, will disappear. . . . Crime will either cease to exist, or, if it occurs, will be treated by physicians as a very distressing form of dementia, to be cured by care and kindness.

Of the future economic organisation of society, Wilde remarks: "The community by means of organisation of machinery will supply the useful things, and . . . the beautiful things will be made by the individual." By Individualism Wilde means the full development of man's personality, the possibility of which has been crushed by the insti-



The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. Post paid

tution of private property. The whole essay could be summed up in this paragraph from it:

With the abolition of private property, then, we shall have true, beautiful, healthy individualism. Nobody will waste his life in accumulating things, and the symbols for things. One will live. To live is the rarest thing in the world. Most people exist, that is all.

This essay is a mine in which only half an hour's reading will reveal many Socialist gems.

A.W.E.

On Maps and Chaps

"GEOGRAPHY", said Mr. Bentley in one of his famous clerihees, "is about maps", and history—"about chaps". But, as Mr. Andrew Boyd points out in his recently published book, geography is really about them both.

Those who remember Mr. J. F. Horrabin's pre-war *Atlas of Current Affairs* and the way in which he dealt both with maps and chaps will certainly be interested in Mr. Boyd's *AN ATLAS OF WORLD AFFAIRS* (Methuen, 6s. 6d.). It is another of those convenient compendiums so useful to anybody with an interest in keeping abreast of the many events and developments in the world but who find themselves with so little time to do it. It will naturally be of interest to Socialists, in particular to writers and speakers.

The book consists of 70 maps, clearly drawn and annotated in black and white, each with its accompanying page of background information. Those maps which are inter-related are efficiently cross-referenced. The subjects they cover are many and varied and provide an impressive picture in themselves of the problems and complexities of the modern capitalist world.

Strategy, trade, production, race tensions, nationalism, disputes and troubles of every sort, are translated into graphic terms. So are the areas of the world where they happen—Africa, Cyprus, the Middle East, Korea, the Arctic, Europe with its trade divisions, France and North Africa, Poland's frontiers, the development of China, these and many other aspects of the current world scene are mapped and factually described.

Of easy reference and readability, attractively produced and printed, it is in short an ideal repository of compressed information at a very reasonable price.

S.H.

CINEMA

The Sweet Life

La Dolce Vita, the Italian film now showing at the Columbia and the Curzon, is worth attention. The action is centred in Rome over seven days and nights (a sly dig at the story of the creation?). The opening sequence sets the scene for this bitter, searing and uncompromising revelation of our diseased society. A helicopter is carrying an effigy of Christ low over Rome followed by another occupied by a newspaper reporter and photographer. Subsequently we learn that these two are attached to a scandal-mongering tabloid but we surmise in the meanwhile that this is a stunt and that the occasion is one of the not infrequent religious holidays. Suddenly we see St. Peter's Square below. Thousands are gathered receiving benediction from the Pope. We are left in no doubt of the relationship of the events—two stunts both concerned only with a cynical exploitation of ignorance, fear and uncertainty.

That evening we see the same reporter in one of the more exclusive night-clubs of Rome smelling out sensation and scandal and noting the useless itineraries of the notables of "society". Eventually he finds himself alone in the company of a rich young heiress who takes him to her palace (the term is used literally) in her fabulous car. There they encounter two prostitutes. The rich young lady, sensing a common bond with one of these (for as we are made well aware, they are two opposite sides of the same coin) offers to take her home. The contrast between the affluence of the rich and the dismal quarters of the prostitute is driven home cruelly. The more so since the rich young thing, weary no doubt of the boredom of her parasitical existence decides to fornicate with the young man in the prostitutes' own bed, suffusing herself, as she imagines with the sensuous pleasures of promiscuity. Of the coarseness, the soliciting, the squalor, the pimps, the degradation, she knows—or wants to know—nothing.

Another episode is in an altogether different vein. A little boy and girl claim to have had a vision outside their home and to have spoken to "Our Lady". The credulity and hysteria which follow lay bare the blind belief and ignorance which go with religion. We see the maimed and crippled gather for succour. Others come out of curiosity, anxious not to miss any possible "modern" miracles. All this is

exploited shamelessly by the methods of modern mass communication. The pent-up frenzy and the latent violence that is its accompaniment bursts forth at the end into the immolation and despoilment by the crowd of the tree where the vision is said to have appeared. Symbolic this of the brutality and violence underlying blind faith and belief so characteristic of our time.

Another episode takes us into the palace of a rich aristocrat where a party is taking place. The utter depravity and stupidity of these people are hammered home in scene after scene. Lechery, promiscuity, avidity, inanity are all ruthlessly exposed. We are never allowed for an instant to forget that these people are possessed of enormous wealth and resources. The great disparities of wealth ownership so characteristic of capitalist society are made clear for all to see. These people are portrayed for what they are—useless, parasitic, diseased.

The final orgiastic episode may be said to crown this unsparing condemnation of hypocritical capitalist morality with one code for the poor and one for the rich.

M. JUDD

Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

The New Cyprus Republic

(1) The Exiles Return

THE CYPRUS REPUBLIC was proclaimed to a 21 gun salute and a fanfare of trumpets at midnight on 15th August whilst inside the House of Representatives, the Treaty of Independence was being signed. Diplomatic protocol was rigidly observed throughout. Sir Hugh Foot, the retiring Governor, Archbishop Makarios, and Dr. Kutchuk, now President and Vice-President respectively of the newly born Republic made the speeches expected of them. The crowd cheered and went away to await the arrival of the contingents of Greek and Turkish troops. The troops were greeted at the port of Famagusta by their respective supporters with cries of "Long live the Turkish Army" and "Long live the Greek Army". They then entered Nicosia to banner greetings of "Freedom and peace-loving soldiers, we welcome you to Cyprus" from whence they proceeded to their camps to prepare for whatever "peace-loving" activities the future might call upon them to perform.

This Nicosia reception, though far from being wildly excited, was riotous compared with the departure of the late Governor of Cyprus, from Famagusta a few hours earlier. To the accompaniment of a bagpipe lament Sir Hugh Foot and his family departed the island followed by the silent stares of the thousands of watchers assembled on the town walls to greet the incoming troops.

The real highlight of the day came later, with the arrival at Nicosia Airport

of 23 Eoka men, exiled to Greece under the amnesty terms following the London Agreement. Any doubts that Eoka had the sympathy and support of the majority of Cypriots must have been dispelled by the scenes. Weeping, shouting, kissing, hugging, hand-shaking men and women slowed the six mile journey from the airport to a two-hour crawl, which ended at the Nicosia Stadium, packed to capacity, with the surrounding roofs crowded. Cries in unison of E-O-K-A changed suddenly to MA-KA-RI-OS as the new president made his appearance.

Here the drama of the day was enacted. Before hysterical crowds the returning exiles made their speeches, and were officially greeted by the President with phrases like . . . "Your heroism has surpassed the bounds of history and become a tradition . . . In your heroic faces the Cypriot people see again with tears of gratitude and great emotion the sacred symbols of the struggle."

Very adroitly he proceeded to draw the stings of the exiles who must have been very conscious that their struggle had not borne the fruit expected. The man who had so obviously benefited from what was regarded as a sell-out then said, "A new stage of struggle lies before us. We must all jointly undertake these peaceful struggles not with the hand-grenade and the arms, but with the power of our souls in order to build our Republic on sound foundations and to ensure the happiness, progress, and peace of our people." He concluded, "I am sure that with the same faith with which you fought on the battlefield you will fight now on the peaceful front." Significantly, the anti-Makarios Ex-Eoka Fighters Association which had boycotted the celebration, had complained that eight of its members had been arrested and held for one night in jail for distributing leaflets attacking the London and Zurich Agreements—during these same celebrations.

The general tenor of opinion was expressed by the Greek paper *Ethnos*:

Greek Cypriots must live not with the memory of what they suffered or how much they were wronged by the British, nor how much their differences are with the Turks, nor should the soul be filled with bitterness at the negation of national hopes. The celebration must be the expression of joy at independence and also the expression of the determination to carry on the new struggle.

Mr. John Clerides, leader of the Democratic Union, after calling the new Republic a fraud said, "We shall not molest those who believing in this fraud have accepted political responsibilities in the new state. We shall, however abstain from their jubilation." An understandable remark, since his son, Mr. Glafcos Clerides, had just accepted the position of Speaker in the new Parliament.

The Akel* view was expressed by their paper *Haravghi*, which called for a policy of peace and friendship abroad in order to secure markets for "our" products. Mr. Papaioannou, General Secretary of Akel, stated from East Berlin, after opposing the presence of British troops, that the Cyprus people must form a broad anti-imperialist front to overcome the impediments of the Agreements.

During the many press conferences that followed, the President continually stressed his "friendship with all countries" policy. Occasionally reporters would fire awkward questions, such as the Turkish woman who asked why, on national holiday, the Turks had cheered in the Turkish contingent and the Greeks had celebrated the return of Eoka. Or others concerning the President's attitude to Grivas ("in spite of differences my warm feelings to Grivas have not changed"). Or a question on the possible trouble from Eoka, which was answered by the assertion that Eoka must work peacefully for the common good. The President's training received in manipulating the minds of the faithful in church was standing him in good stead. Concerning the all important question of trade, it was made clear that "trade with all countries would be encouraged and developed within the framework of a sound labour and social policy, safeguarding the capital importance of labour and the imprescribable rights of the working people."

Thus the domestic and foreign policy of the new Republic was as one would have expected. All would be well, provided "the imprescribable rights of the working people were safeguarded" and "friendship with all countries" could be guaranteed. Assuming that these statements were not intended to be tongue-in-cheek platitudes, one must suppose that the President's knowledge of the real world is as deficient as those of his many supporters who believed that, somehow or other, a change from colonial to self-government would result in full employment, peace, and prosperity.

(to be continued)

* The Cyprus Communist Party

Letters

To the Editor



WHEN AND HOW?

When—and how? For more than half a century you have preached socialism. For nearly that long I have read your literature and listened to your speakers. Constantly I ask; when and how. Your speakers repeat, parrot-fashion; "When the workers want socialism they will have it". Fine, but this is dependent on the question, "How?", to which you have no answer. Propaganda by itself is useless. There must be a plan of action. Do you envisage a time when it will be impossible to recruit a single soldier, sailor or airman; when at a General Election not a single vote will be cast; and when workers will all simultaneously and spontaneously, without leadership or organisation of any sort, suddenly refuse to work for their capitalist masters? Supposing such a fantastic state of affairs could come about what then? How do you set up and how administer the socialist society?

It is true that the Labour Party, by attempting to bring about a socialist society through a process of gradual reform has foundered because it was forced to compromise with capitalism but it is also true that the Soviet by bloody revolution overthrew the capitalist society yet the workers are certainly no more free than they were under private capitalists. Private capitalism has simply been succeeded by State Capitalism. I certainly do not expect to get the answers to my two simple questions but I suggest that the SPGB thinks about this problem. By all means continue your good work in converting the workers to socialism but please, for the sake of convinced socialists consider, when—and how?

London, W.10.

REPLY]

Here is a pleasant surprise for B.W. —answers to his questions. The first one—"When?"—he answers himself: "When the workers want Socialism they will have it." To the second question—"How?"—the answer is much the same. When the great majority of workers in this country and all over the world are

convinced Socialists then they will handle the business of bringing about a Socialist society without any difficulty. They (the workers, including the administrative and supervisory workers) already handle the much greater problem of running a capitalist society—much greater because the necessary production and distribution of goods is complicated by problems of exchange, of payment, of credit, of competition, of national frontiers, of strategic considerations, and so on—all of which will cease to exist when capitalism is abolished. Besides that, many workers, are at present employed on useless jobs (bank clerks, insurance men, bus conductors) or directly harmful ones (soldiers, munitions makers) thus greatly reducing the number of workers available for the useful work of production and distribution. And at present the workers do this much more difficult job —of running capitalism—when it is not even in their own interests. Under Socialism they will have a much easier task which will be in their own interests. It is hard to see why our correspondent thinks that the same people who are now doing a very difficult job will not in the future be able to do a much easier one.

Our "plan of action" is straightforward: to make Socialists. Why does B.W. think there will be "no organisation . . . of any sort"? The Socialist Party is the very organisation he is looking for. As we state in the Declaration of Principles we publish every month "The Socialist Party of Great Britain . . . calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner". The organisation is already here—the tool of the working class in the Socialist revolution. All that is lacking is a majority of class-conscious workers, and we are doing our best to bring that about.

B.W. says "Do you envisage a time when it will be impossible to recruit a single soldier, sailor or airman; when at a General Election not a single vote will be cast"—presumably B.W. means for capitalist parties, since our appeal to Socialist workers is to vote for Socialist candidates or write "Socialism" etc. on the ballot paper. B.W. is correct to describe such a state of affairs as fantastic. When "nobody" is prepared to join the armed forces or vote for capitalist parties these institutions, because of that fact, will have ceased to exist.

If B.W. has been reading our literature and listening to our speakers for as long as he says, he should know that the Labour Party has never attempted to bring about a Socialist society,

whether by gradual reform or otherwise. It aims at nothing more than state capitalism, and a "welfare state". A state capitalist party will never bring about Socialism. As for Russia, the Soviet revolution overthrew the landed aristocracy, and brought in capitalism—at first partly private and partly state, now wholly state. It is perfectly true that the workers are no better off under state than under private capitalism, but this is only what the Socialist Party has been saying since its inception.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

PARTY NEWS continued from page 16

COVENTRY GROUP

It may interest readers to know that a Socialist Discussion Group has recently been formed in Coventry. The first meeting of this Group was held on Monday, November 21st, in the Coffee Room (upstairs) "Craven Arms," High Street, near Broadgate. Meetings will be held Monday fortnightly thereafter, all proceedings commencing at approximately 7.30 p.m.

Coventry members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain have been instrumental in organising this Group, the general aim and purpose of which will be to work towards the formation of a Coventry Branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Generally, discussions will be held on Socialism and anything pertaining to it, and it is hoped to organise some lectures also. No one will be precluded from attending by virtue solely of views divergent from the SPGB's obviously. And all within the inevitable and necessary limits of an organised discussion Group—will have complete freedom of expression.

You are cordially invited to attend any of the meetings—and the Group members will be pleased indeed to welcome you.

Meetings: Mondays, January 2nd, 16th and 30th.

HEAD OFFICE

Comrade Gilmac is regularly at Head Office from 2 to 7 p.m. (later on Tuesday) from Monday to Friday. He is happy to supply information about literature or any other Head Office matters. Telephone: MACauley 3811.

Please note when writing to Head Office, always write the name of the Party in full. It so happens that a local firm uses initials for its title and they are similar to 'SPGB.' No doubt we might get some of their correspondence and it is more than likely they receive some of ours, so in order to avoid confusion write SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN on all Head Office correspondence.

P. H.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Meetings

FILMS AT HEAD OFFICE

52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

January 1st
"CAN WE BE RICH?"
Speaker: E. Hardy.

January 8th
"COME BACK AFRICA"
Speaker: R. Ambridge.

January 15th
"THEODORE ROOSEVELT"
Speaker: C. Wilson.

January 22nd
"THE WORLD IS RICH"
Speaker: J. McGuinness.

January 29th
"PUSH BUTTONS AND PEOPLE"
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

February 5th
"WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?"

SUNDAY LECTURES

A series of 6 lectures at Central Club (Small Hall), 127 Clerkenwell Road, Grays Inn Road, E.C.1 (next to Holborn Hall).
Sundays, 7.30

January 15th
"THE STATE"
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

January 22nd
"THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY"
Speaker: Gilmac.

January 29th
"MERCANTILISM"
Speaker: R. Wainwright.

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3).
Wednesday, 11th January, 8 p.m.
"NORTH AMERICAN JOURNEY"
Speaker: Gilmac.

LEWISHAM LECTURE

Room 1, Davenport Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, S.E.6.
Monday, January 30th, 8.15 p.m.
"NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT"
Speaker: E. Hardy.

PADDINGTON LECTURES

"The Olive Branch", Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marlybone Rd.)
Wednesdays, 9 p.m.

January 18th
"TRADE UNIONISM"
Speaker: C. May.

January 25th
"KARL LIEBNICHT"
Speaker: I. Jones.

February 1st
"MARKISM: METHOD OR DOGMA"
Speaker: W. Reid.



Party News

ISLINGTON BRANCH AND CND

In September last the Islington Branch Organiser received a letter from the Islington Campaign Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, giving details of their local activities. The latter stated they were prepared to send a speaker to give an address on Nuclear Disarmament, or, if it was preferred, they could show a film which they considered would be of interest. Or, if the Branch preferred, they would be prepared to debate with the Party.

The Branch decided that a debate would be a good proposition and immediately the local CND Secretary was contacted by telephone. He was advised that we accepted their proposition to debate and that the Branch could and would make all the necessary arrangements. The CND Secretary

stated that he would have to put the matter before his committee. Islington Branch wrote confirming the telephone conversation, giving suggested dates and asked if the CND wished to hold the debate in Islington or elsewhere, also the motion suggested for debate.

The letter was acknowledged and it was stated that the Committee had agreed to the debate and that definite arrangements were awaited. All details were supplied. The proposed date was Thursday, December 22nd, and the venue, the Main Hall at the Holloway Co-operative building. The subject, "Nuclear Disarmament or Socialism?" Our representative's name was given. All the arrangements were confirmed by the CND.

Three weeks later a letter was received stating that they had appointed a new secretary and a new committee who had reconsidered the matter and had decided against taking part in the debate. The reason given by them was that the policy of the new committee is not to argue for or against any particular philosophy. They offered to send a speaker as an alternative and ended their letter by remarking that they regretted the change of plan, "but as CND embraces all religions, creeds and philosophies," they hoped "we would understand and try to bear with them."

GLASGOW MEETINGS.

Room 2, Door G, St. Andrew's Hall, Berkeley Street.
Sundays 7.30 p.m. (prompt)

January 8th
"A GOOD IDEA FOR TRADE UNIONISTS"
Speaker: R. Russell.

January 15th
"SCOTLAND—THE UNEMPLOYED"
Speaker: R. Reid.

January 22nd
"MEDICINE AND HEALTH"
Speaker: J. Reid.

January 29th
"SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM"
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION

Thursday, 19th January, 8 p.m.
White Hart, Mitcham Cricket Green
"SOCIALISM—WHAT IT MEANS"

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays
Hyde Park 3 p.m.
East Street, Walworth
January 1st and 15th (noon)
January 8th and 22nd (11 a.m.)
January 29th (1 p.m.)

Thursdays
Tower Hill, 12.30—2 p.m.

EALING

Last month's film show "Can We Be Rich?" given by Comrade Hardy, was very successful and has encouraged the Branch to try to arrange for three more shows to be held in January, February and March. These will alternate with lectures and discussions—altogether a fairly heavy programme which we hope members will make every attempt to support. Further details will be sent to all members and will, of course, appear in the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

WOOLWICH

During the past year Woolwich Branch has maintained its activity and has had many discussions on current topics and the Party case.

The Branch has recently ended a satisfactory outdoor Propaganda season at Beresford Square. The number of meetings held and interest shown indicate that this is worthwhile and essential Party activity.

It is intended to pursue this method of propaganda next year and to continue to obtain the services of speakers and the support of members.

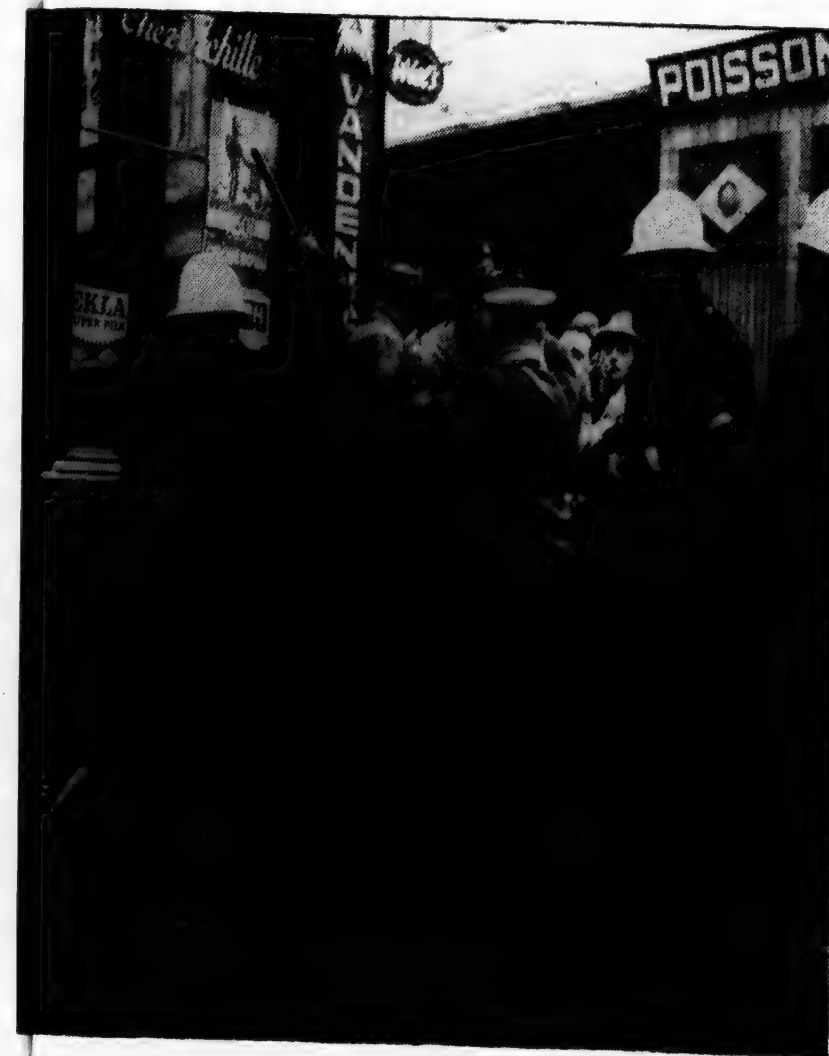
A welcome is extended to all who would like to attend the branch. Time is always set aside for discussion after branch business.

continued page 15

SOCIALIST STANDARD. Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 37 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

FEBRUARY 1961

SOCIALIST STANDARD



STRIKE IN BELGIUM

Austerity, in a world of potential plenty, is always the lot of the working class under capitalism. It is not enough to demonstrate against one type of capitalist government. The workers must organize consciously to abolish the present economic system and establish in its place their own system of society-socialism.

**CAPITALISM 1961
EDUCATED POLITICIANS
PIECE WORK
CANADIAN ILLUSION
UNDERGROUND SIN**

**JOURNAL OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

6^d

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON Thursdays 7.30 pm, Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (9th & 23rd February) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 3rd February at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 17th February at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottlingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (13th February) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (9th Feb: discussion, 23rd Feb: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 13 Shelley House, Churchill Gdns. SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (1st & 15th February) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kilvingrove) Alternate Mondays (13th & 27th February) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY Alternate Mondays (13th & 27th February) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakley, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushway Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (1st & 15th February) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcote Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesdays in month 7.30 pm, 7th February at 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea and 21st February at 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs at above latter address.

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th & 24th February) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th & 23rd February) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderside Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th & 24th February) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 16th February 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kamp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Czaska, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

★ Important Socialist Lectures

Central Club
127 Clerkenwell Road, EC1
Sundays 7.30 pm

DETAILS PAGE 32



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

February 1961 Vol 57 No 678

Contents

- 20 News in Review
Mr. & Mrs. Average
Airways Strike
On the Brink
Yes to De Gaulle
Canadian Illusion
Battle of the Roads
- 21 The New Cyprus Republic
- 24 Finance & Industry
Our Educated Politicians
Capitalism 1961
Flood Havoc in China
Speculating in Misery
- 24 Marx on Piece Work
- 25 Before the Physiocrats
- 27 The Passing Show
- 28 Excuses and Admissions
- 29 Sin on the Underground
- 30 The Real Army Game
- 31 Back to Normal
- 31 Fifty Years Ago
- 32 Party News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

The Strike in Belgium

THE BELGIAN STRIKE is an attempt on the part of some of the Belgian workers to force the Government to resign or change its method of dealing with the economic crisis. The Government, a coalition of Christian Democrats and Liberals, has precipitated this situation by its austerity measures. These consist of cuts in the social services such as the Belgian equivalent of the National Health Service, in the education programme, in unemployment pay, and in coal subsidies, along with the introduction of a Means Test and what is called "additional temporary taxation." The Belgian local authorities are also to be empowered to impose additional income taxes of their own. The Belgian opposition party which calls itself "Socialist" claims that workers will suffer a loss of £21 to £28 a year.

The popular reason given for these austerity measures is the need to meet the trade and finance deficit caused by the loss of the Congo. But to accept this one has to accept the view that the Belgian capitalist class subsidised its workers out of the proceeds of exploitation of the Congolese: and that wealth which might have bought continued support for Belgian rule in the Congo was diverted to Belgian working class pay packets out of sheer generosity on the part of the Belgian capitalists.

A correspondent in *The Guardian* (28/12/60) gives a more reasoned view of the situation:

Even before the Congo crisis, plans were being made to face the unpleasant fact that Belgium's period of peak

prosperity is over, and that her industrial production is growing very slowly in comparison with that of her Common Market partners. By economies in state spending, by increased taxation and by attracting foreign capital, M. Eyskens' austerity programme was designed to achieve a vast investment drive to modernise Belgian industry and make Belgian products competitive in world markets. The most uneconomic of Belgian products is her coal; a chronic problem since the thirties. In recent months Belgium has launched on a serious programme of reform of uneconomic mines including a number of closures. Closure of mines, however, means social disruption; alternative jobs for discharged mineworkers are not yet available in mining areas and the Socialist Party has seized on the consequent unemployment and unrest to find support for its present frontal attacks on the austerity programme and the present Government.

Socialists feel deep sympathy for the Belgian workers on strike. But they realise that their action is futile as a means to achieve anything but temporary respite from the encroachments of their masters on their standard of living, and that they are jeopardising their chances of achieving even that by using the strike weapon against the State, instead of using it to back up wage demands with which to offset the effect of the Government's policy.

The lessons of this situation should be taken to heart. The strike weapon has a very limited usefulness and at its best can only deal with effects and not causes. To use this weapon against the might of the State is to invite dis-

aster. If at election times the workers give their votes to the parties of capitalism, it ensures that the present type of situation will occur again.

The "Socialist" Party in Belgium is similar to the Labour Party in this country. It is these so-called "Socialists" who foist such wage-pruning schemes as National Health services, unemployment pay, family allowances, and so on, on to politically ignorant workers as bits of Socialism. And it is the same political charlatans who seek to make capital from the present situation by using the strike as a means to achieve government office themselves.

Governments do not develop reforms or pruning schemes because their attitude to the working class is necessarily either sympathetic or antagonistic. Governments administer the affairs of a capitalist economy in the interests of the national capitalist class. The Belgian workers would be well advised to consider this fact in relation to the present situation, recognising that a change of government is merely a change of label.

A more fundamental change is needed. Austerity, in a world of potential plenty, is always the lot of the working class under capitalism. It is not enough to demonstrate against one type of capitalist government. The workers must organise consciously to abolish the present economic system and establish in its place their own system of society—Socialism.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (Callers:) 46 Carlotta St. Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney, N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

NEWS IN REVIEW

Mr & Mrs. Average

ACCORDING to a new Stationery Office publication—*Britain, 1961 Edition*—"Mr. and Mrs. Average" are described as having a TV set, vacuum cleaner and occasionally a washing machine and a fridge. The acquisition of these goods is equated by advertisements, films and magazines to true, lasting happiness. We all know the phrases "No more wash-day fatigue with Blank's wonderful washing machine", etc. The mere fact of possessing these goods, however, does not produce happiness as soon as the gadget is installed. On the contrary, they often produce problems, mainly financial, and occasionally their "happy" possessors are driven to desperation, as in the case of a young couple in Birmingham, who clearly were "Mr. and Mrs. Average". The husband was the envy of the neighbourhood. He had bought a five-piece living room suite, washing machine, bedroom suite and TV set on hire purchase, and had redecorated his 15/- a week house from top to bottom. On 28th December 1960, with the Christmas decorations still hanging gaily, the husband, wife and their 2 year old daughter were found dead in their gleaming, gas-filled kitchen. The wife was expecting her second child the following week. A note said that they worried about their hire purchase debts. Never had it so good...

Airways Strike

THE MAINTENANCE STAFF of BOAC and BEA staged a four-hour stoppage on Wednesday, January 2nd, in support of a wage claim that has been going through the laborious negotiating machinery. This, of course, caused some dislocation of airline schedules. This undoubtedly caused a lot of hardship to some passengers, but the unfortunate fact is that for the aircraft workers one of the few ways in which the employers and their own union officials can be gingered up is by resort to a strike. This was bound to be unpopular: remember how the press and the Government castigated the railwaymen and the busmen in the past for their strike action that "inconvenienced the public"?

But what happened when the strikers at the airport reported for duty after the

four-hour stoppage? BEA immediately suspended them for a further 24 hours, causing six times as much inconvenience to the public.

One would have thought that this would have brought howls of protest from the press and Government. But the only newspaper comment was typified by the *Daily Mail* of January 6th, which said that BEA was determined to push home the lesson to the strikers. It seems that what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander.

On the Brink

BOTH RUSSIA AND the United States waxed indignant about each other's interference in the Laos disturbances. Sheer hypocrisy of course, because they had both been dabbling their fingers in that particular pie.

The Russians have supplied arms to Captain Kong Lae's army. Since 1954, the United States has pumped between forty and fifty million dollars into Laos. Washington wants value for its money: in 1958, it played its part in the dismissal of Prince Souvanna Phouma's government, after the elections in May of that year had returned a lot of communist members.

China is probably interested in the strategic potential of Laos, as a buffer between her and SEATO member Thailand. The Americans, notoriously trigger-neurotic in the Far East, seem to want the country more firmly under their control, and not simply neutralist.

The Laos dispute may be small in itself, but it is a miniature of the clashing interests of two giant power blocs. It could be another Korea. Or even a Sarajevo or a Danzig.

This must be the fear which overhangs every minor upheaval in the world. We are as far away from peace as ever.

Yes to De Gaulle

GENERAL DE GAULLE came to power to joyful motor horns tooting the rhythm of *Algerie francaise* in the streets of Paris. This was an exuberant indication of the hopes of the general's supporters, that he would ruthlessly crush the FLN and

maintain French rule over Algeria.

In the event de Gaulle, by resolving to come to terms with Algerian nationalism, has shown the more realistic assessment of the interests of French capitalism. In this, like many other politicians, he has disappointed a lot of his former supporters.

Last month's affirmative vote for the general's proposals gave the go-ahead to the organisation of another referendum, to be held in Algeria alone. This could express a preference for an independent country.

The second referendum will be held if security conditions in Algeria allow. This could mean that there will soon be further talks between the French government and the FLN, and that the end of the present fighting in Algeria may be in sight.

Evidently de Gaulle was determined to get his way. The questions in the referendum were loaded, the government hogged most of the propaganda and left the French army in no doubt as to how it should vote.

If this is the beginning of the road to peace in Algeria, there is no cause for another joyful tooting of horns. We all know that there will be other Algerias, with their own bloodshed and misery.

Canadian Illusion

IT WAS NOT so very long ago that some of the air and sea lines in this country were working hectic overtime to accommodate all the people who were clamouring to emigrate to Canada.

These people must have gone with great expectations of a country full of good things, where everybody was happy. How has it turned out?

It is now expected that this month, Canada's unemployment will reach ten per cent. of its working population, which is the highest since the war, and several times higher than in Great Britain.

The solutions which have been recommended for Canada's slump are not new. Some economists favour higher import tariffs and a strong effort to replace imported goods with home products. Others advocate a freer economy, with fewer fiscal restrictions.

Perhaps these are the same economists who were telling us, only yesterday, that the days of boom and slump belonged to an old era of ignorance and were gone for ever.

The emigrants must know differently.

But there is little hope that they will lose the illusions which they took west with them.

Some may return to this country, or travel on to other lands. Others will stay in Canada. But wherever they go capitalism, and its problems, will be waiting to greet them.

Battle of the Roads

DESPITE THE REDUCTION in road deaths over the recent Christmas period as compared with that of 1959, the Ministry of Transport and the various road safety organisations are still faced with the task of exhorting the restless tide of humanity to walk and drive carefully. Each year hundreds of proposals for road safety are considered. One of the main difficulties is that of the separation of pedestrians and traffic, but since this can only be accomplished at enormous cost, it is not considered practical, and consequently palliatives and not remedies are preferred.

There is a mistaken belief among some people that these road problems are only a recent phenomenon, but as long ago as 1846 the daily newspapers were complaining of the inadequacies of the principal thoroughfares and of the fact that

all that could be done was to patch up and mend. In today's battle of the roads one can see all the contradictory nature of capitalist society. Whilst Mr. Marples is making his appeal, we are being told about the super-petrols which are supposed to make cars go faster, not to mention the prestige value of the bigger and faster car.

But big problems are often solved by simple remedies. The question of cost in relation to profit is at the root not only of the road problem, but of most of the major problems facing society today. The road problem is aggravated by the thousands of commercial and business vehicles which congest the highways and bye-ways, taking back and forth goods which have covered the same ground several times before. There are also thousands of small, medium, and large size shops selling identical goods to the people in the already overcrowded towns and cities. We can only wonder that the accident rate is not higher than the statistics show.

Appeals for less density of commerce and industry in the larger cities have failed. London, for instance, seems to be going the same way as New York and this fact alone should dispel any illusions the long suffering travelling public have of ever avoiding the "peak hour" chaos—a battle of the roads with no holds barred.

The New Cyprus Republic

2) The Rude Awakening

The rude awakening was to come before the new Republic was three weeks old, and Ledra Street, which once echoed with the revolver shots of those bent on replacing the colonial government with one of their choosing, was to echo with the shouts of demonstrating Trade Unionists, striking in support of their fellow workers sacked for "economy reasons".

The attention of the new representatives had been drawn to the plea, uttered against the dismissal of Public Works Department employees in the Paphos district, four days before Independence. Promises "to see what he could do about it" were given by the Minister of Labour in the transitional government. Combined right wing (SEK) and left wing (PEO) unions then issued strike notices against wrongful dismissal. At the same time, Mr. Beeley, the British

representative at UNO, was placing the application of Cyprus for membership before the Security Council, saying "A democratic system of government and the necessary machinery for safeguarding the human rights and the interests of all sections of the community" exists in Cyprus.

While the voice of organised labour was beginning to express itself, the body of employers had been reorganising. Even as the daily press was relaying as front page news the visits of diplomats presenting credentials at the Presidential Palace, (the old Government House) there appeared notices on their back pages. These were to give notice that "application had been made to the Cyprus Government for a licence 'to form'... The Cyprus Employers Consultative Association... to safeguard and promote the interests of all employers in Cyprus, especially in securing their fullest co-operation in dealing with

matters affecting relations between employers and their workpeople." Continued link-ups of employers' associations throughout the island have resulted in the association covering leading employers and most individual employers associations.

Still the sackings continued, amid strong press reaction, with T.U. delegations making representations to the Minister of Labour. A letter was published from the Government Workers' freedom is of real value as long as the worker is deprived of the sacred right Union to the Government saying, "No to work (Cyprus Mail 26/8/60). On August 27th, while pickets were demonstrating on the streets of Famagusta against dismissals, President Makarios announced a scheme for the expenditure of £331,300 on new public works to reduce unemployment. Then with cruel irony he said "We are in sympathy with those dismissed from Public Works, and certainly we don't want them in the streets jobless. But I want to make it clear that I am not going to give in to slogans of demagogues. A labour conscience must be developed for the good of the country. Demagoguism and laziness must stop. What our country needs is work and production. Workers will be protected in the new state, but they must also work".

One can be quite safe in saying that the first pronouncement of a government after its election is to call on the workers to work harder. In this case it came rather later than expected, but rarely has such a call been so cruelly worded. The "unemployed worker" who out of sheer desperation is forced to send deputations to beg for work from his newly-elected government, is roundly berated by the leader of that government for not working. The dismissals continued amid protests. The grant was seen by the workers as a stop-gap measure which, apart from failing to secure the re-engagement of the dismissed workers, would do nothing to relieve unemployment in the future. Plans for

abolishing unemployment by means of foreign loans were discussed continually. Finally, a meeting of SEK, PEO, and the Turkish Federation of Labour decided on an island-wide strike for 8th September if the dismissed workers were not reinstated.

We Want Bread

The workers' representatives negotiated up to the last minute with Minister of Labour and the President, who assured them that it was government policy to help the workers and that they would do everything in their power. But governmental concern was not sufficient for them to reverse their previous dismissal decisions, and a twenty-four hour protest strike was called. Shouts of "We want work—we want bread" went up outside the House of Representatives, while a union delegation went inside to present a solution. In every town mass rally and picket demonstrations were held, with placards saying, "Our children are hungry", and "Let the promises become deeds".

This token strike, undertaken by workers half-fearful of bringing the government in disrepute, had the sympathy of the general public, was peaceful, and moreover was an extremely effective example of how the working people, in default of anyone else, were prepared to "safeguard their imprescriptible rights". The strikers returned to work the following day to await the next move by the government.

The naively unrealistic "friendship with all countries" policy was to bring immediate reaction from the United Arab Republic. The friction was caused by the declaration that Mr. Zev Levin would be installed as the first Israeli ambassador to Cyprus. This came in the face of warnings by the Arab League to Cypriot merchants against trading with Israel. The announcement of the appointment was like a slap in the face to Egypt. Since the Suez invasion launched by the British in 1956, Egypt had given full support to the self-determination agitation wishing to remove the threat of an unfriendly Cyprus on its doorstep.

The first reaction from Egypt was to suggest that the reports were circulated by Israel to disturb the excellent relations with the new republic, but when it became evident that the report was factual, the question was given priority at the Arab League Foreign Ministers' meeting which started in Beirut on August 22nd. At the closing session of its meeting, the League passed a resolution warning Cyprus that Zionism aims to succeed

imperialism in every country and to continue exploiting it. The Cyprus Federation of Trade and Industry, in expressing great concern in the deterioration in diplomatic relations, revealed their real concern in a cable sent to the President. This stated that the economic interests of Cyprus demanded the strengthening of ties between the Republic and Arab countries. In reply to this a message was sent to the President by a committee of businessmen trading with Israel, who expressed support for the "bridge of friendship" policy, and requested a meeting with him to put forward their viewpoint. Although a trade pact was signed with the UAR at the end of September, the Arab-Israeli dispute continued to be one of the main newspaper topics, and no solution seems likely to satisfy all parties permanently.

Hence the two main policies upon which the new state was to have based its action had come to grief; and with it the idealistic policy of independence and industrial peace in a capitalist world of political and economic line-ups.

Opening the Seventh Cyprus International Trade Fair, President Makarios stressed the importance of the island as a trade link between East and West. In doing so he was merely following the path mapped out for him by numerous government leaders in as many countries, engaging in the monotonous and dangerous pastime of market-grabbing. The urgency of his appeal is underlined by the recently published Economic Review for 1959, which lays stress on the continued unfavourable trend in the terms of trade.

Storms Ahead

In spite of continued expressions of optimism in the future of the new state, from the point of view of economic and political stability, and trade and foreign relations everything points to more storms ahead. Cyprus has mainly an agricultural and mining economy, the latter accounting for more than half the value of exports. Agriculture can absorb no more of the labour force; already it accounts for over half. Although the most important single activity, it is uneconomic and heavily subsidised. A large number of farmers, unable to pay off loans, are threatened with the enforced sale of their land.

The question of capital investment to finance such projects has been the subject of much dispute. The Ambassador to Greece for the Soviet Union, Mr Sergeyev, with the appearance and behaviour of a miniature Khrushchev,

visited the island and offered aid "without strings". AKEL of course advocate taking up the offer, whilst others advise caution and consideration of other offers.

The question of future intercommunal disturbances has recently been given prominence by the statement of a Turkish political leader, Mr. Denktash, that attempts by Greek Cypriots to undermine the Zurich and London Agreements would lead to chaos and civil war. Scarcely a day passes without the Greek and Turkish dailies on the island throwing mud at each other. The prospects of even elementary political organisation involving both communities seem remote at the moment. The brightest hope, from the working class point of view, is the admirable demonstration of unity during the recent strikes and demonstrations, which the workers have threatened to repeat. Both Turk and Greek spoke as one. The Trades Unions have recently opposed the principle, imposed by the Constitution, of a 70 per cent.-30 per cent. division of Civil Service jobs between Greeks and Turks as being discriminatory and introducing political factors into a purely labour field.

Difference of Opinion

The difference of opinion between Makarios and the mayors mentioned earlier is developing into a full scale feud. A week after Independence Day it was announced that the mayors would publish a book stating their opinion of the Agreement. At the same time they served notice that they would revive the feud with Makarios, who went on record as saying "that some of them deserve to be tried by people's courts". Their next move, taken with a number of doctors, editors, lawyers, and party leaders, was to send a telegram to the Secretary General of UNO on the eve of the maiden speech made by the island's representative, Mr. Zenon Rossides. As though to belie his references to newly independent Cyprus as "a bridge of unity for understanding and co-operation". The telegram pointed out that the settlement was imposed on them, and infringed their fundamental right to self determination. Two more telegrams followed immediately, one from the Turkish Communal Chairman in support of the agreement and another of opposition from the Greeks. It is quite probable that an influential body, a kind of unofficial opposition outside Parliament, will develop.

In municipal matters a Greek and a Turkish Municipal Chamber administrators

the respective communities with moneys allocated by the government according to the 70 per cent./30 per cent. ratio. This rigid partition in municipal matters is also found in education and in separate representation at parliamentary level.

Police Power

In this government as in so many others, the responsibility of power has had a very sobering effect on the erstwhile rebels. They have become respectable, cautious, and apprehensive. No doubt it is the current crime wave, including some murders of those who were informers during the emergency, that has prompted the President to announce an island-wide arms round up, after which very serious action is to be taken against those holding arms. The response to this was the negligible total of 30 guns; shocking the government into the threat of snap road checks and surprise house searches. Indeed, police power has already been strengthened by the government decision to retain the pass system, introduced by the British Government during the emergency, where by all adults over twelve years old must be in possession of civilian identity cards.

The possibility of an outbreak of violence between the Communists and the Eoka faction, which had spasmodically flared during the emergency, cannot be far from the President's mind. Reports have come from Athens of renewed political activity by Grivas, and of his statement concerning the further clarification of certain points in the Constitution. We are reminded that it was in Athens that he first organised a private army, during the German occupation in 1943. During the civil war that followed liberation, the royalist Grivas had aligned his army against ELAS, the Communist army which he had known for a long time, intended to take over Greece, and which had put a price on his head. After Greece had been forced into the camp of Western Capitalism, he made an unsuccessful attempt to get into the Greek Parliament. The subsequent failure and disillusionment turned his interest to his native Cyprus, where the growth of Communist Party influence gave him cause for concern. Although AKEL had supported the earlier Enosis movement, the Greek Civil War and its outcome had resulted in a typical about face. As always the communist attitude was inconsistent and vacillating, but union with a member of the Western, as opposed to the Eastern Capitalist

blocks was not to their liking. Whilst apprehensive that self-determination would result in Enosis, their present attitude appears to be in favour of independence. The present set-up suits them very well, giving them plenty of room of manoeuvre Cyprus into the communist camp. True to the principle of "catching them young", both groups have already formed youth organisations.

Under colonial rule, there is often identification of the ruling class with the colonial power. The belief used to be current in the "left wing" that after the achievement of national independence the resulting disillusionment would provide the experience necessary for the working class to see the class issue more clearly. Of course, this is not believed by Russia who is just as anxious as any other country to woo the newly independent states, to capture their trade and to use them as counters in international diplomacy. In any case it is a fallacious argument and certainly not borne out by the facts.

The struggle in Cyprus resulted in many hundreds of working class dead and wounded. The voice of its Capitalist Class, as yet young and weak, but struggling to be heard, finds a ready mouthpiece in its government which has shown itself to be just as chauvinistic and trade conscious as any of the other governments set up as a result of national independence. It has taken its place with the other capitalist states in a world of actual and potential aggression, and will add its voice to the general discord which is called "trade and peace", no doubt falling into line behind one or other of the major powers.

Socialist Knowledge

This is not a step forward for the working class of Cyprus or anywhere else, and far from there being any sign of them becoming socialist, independence has thrown the nationalistic aspirations of Greek and Turk into relief. The introduction to the Cyprus working class of socialist knowledge with its clear-cut class issues, uncomplicated by nationalistic arguments, is badly needed to dispel these bars to its emancipation.

Then it will realise that its struggle, whether resulting in Enosis or independence, effectively enables its capitalist class to capture more elbow room to develop, and secure a hold on labour, in order to exploit it more efficiently in the name of the new Cyprus Republic.

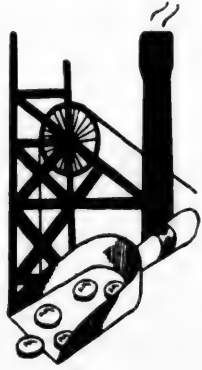
R.J.

March 19th 7.30 pm
MAHATMA GHANDI HALL
Fitzroy Square, W1

Capitalism, UNO or Socialism

Speakers: P. Bryant, E. Grant

Finance & Industry



IN AN INTERVIEW published in the *Observer* (8.1.61) the banker Lord Brand, asked if he thought that academic economists do more good than harm, replied that they are extremely valuable. He claimed that through the studies of Keynes and other economists knowledge has grown and this "has altered the whole picture of economic life". Possibly because Lord Brand would hesitate to claim that economic life has altered particularly ("I do not think we have an easy time ahead of us in the next year or so") he went on to blame the politicians for not accepting the good

Marx on Piece Work

Let us now consider a little more closely the characteristic peculiarities of piece-wages. The quality of the labour is here controlled by the work itself, which must be of average perfection if the piece-price is to be paid in full. Piece-wages become, from this point of view, the most fruitful source of reductions of wages and capitalistic cheating.

They furnish to the capitalist an exact measure for the intensity of labour. Only the working-time which is embodied in a quantum of commodities determined beforehand and experimentally fixed, counts as socially necessary working time, and is paid as such.

Since the quality and intensity of the work are here controlled by the form of wage itself, superintendence of labour becomes in great part superfluous. . . .

Given piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the labourers to strain his labour power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalists to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labour.

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Kerr Edition, pages 605-606.

Our Educated Politicians

advice of the economists.

He recalled the reparations chaos after the first world war, when the politicians (backed however by 3 out of their 7 banking economic advisers) insisted on exacting impossible reparations from Germany. Lord Brand says: "It was clearly mad at the time to those who would, and could, see, and were prepared to act accordingly. But the people who had control of policy could not see".

He singles out Lloyd George—"Like most statesmen of the day, he knew little or nothing of finance"—yet Lloyd George had been Chancellor of the Exchequer. But it appears, according to Lord Brand, that Lloyd George insisted on the mad policy because he had boasted of squeezing Germany "till the pip squeaked" and dared not back down for fear of losing political support among voters as blind as he was.

But in the second world war the statesmen appear not to have changed much. Lord Brand tells how Churchill and Roosevelt, on the advice of Morgenthau, Secretary of the U.S. Treasury and with the agreement of Lord Cherwell (a "highly intelligent" man) adopted a plan to reduce Germany to a purely agricultural country. Lord Cherwell's defence of his action was that the British Government wanted a loan from America and acceptance of this fantastic plan would make it easier to get the loan.

Capitalism 1961

LORD BRAND'S COMPLACENCY about the altered picture of economic life reads oddly in face of the motor car slump and the looming difficulties facing international trade and currencies. The years between the wars were spent creating currency collapse in one country after another and then laboriously re-establishing stable currencies. After World War II it was all supposed to be different but now Professor Meade is warning of the drastic remedies that he thinks may be necessary because of America's loss of gold, so he proposes that the dollar and the pound should be cut adrift from their existing link with gold.

The *Guardian* in an editorial (3.1.61) remarks "Undoubtedly a period of chaos would follow. Professor Meade feels sure that stability would return at a new

level of exchange rates within six months. Perhaps so; but in the process the structure of the International Monetary Fund, one of the greatest achievements of international collaboration in our generation would have been laid in ruins".

One prospect seen by the *Guardian* is that "soon the Russian rouble might be the only major currency with a fixed gold parity".

This seems ironical to the *Guardian* but only because they persist against all conscience in believing that Russia is not a great capitalist power, but something else.

Flood Havoc in China

THROUGH FLOODS and storms China is threatened with what may be a catastrophic fall of food supplies. In a Socialist world such an event would be met by movement of supplies from elsewhere. But under capitalism a different set of values rules. America, Canada and other countries have masses of food they cannot sell profitably. The *Times* (20.12.60) reported that in the four chief exporting countries America, Canada, Argentina and Australia, "the end-of-season carry-over on July 31 next are expected to reach the unprecedented total of 60,400,000 tons, a rise of 7,500,000 tons on the year".

So what problem can there be? But capitalist trade and rivalries create problems. The American government when it wanted to give wheat away or sell it cheaply met opposition from the other exporting countries, who feared this would reduce world prices and cut into their own sales. Secondly there are those who on political grounds would object to help being given to China, and according to Mr. Cyril Osborne, M.P., who was recently in Peking, there are politicians in that country who reply that the Chinese people "would rather starve than eat American food or accept American charity". (*Daily Telegraph*, 3.1.61). (The starving might give a different answer).

According to *Reynolds News* (1.1.61) projected Canadian sales of their surplus to China are likely to meet with objections from the American government.

In the meantime the American food

stocks are being nibbled at by the recently increased numbers of unemployed: "In September 3,200,000 Americans were given food from the surplus supplies held by the government". (*Guardian* 2.1.61).

Speculating in Misery

UNDER THE HEADING "Its an Ill Wind" the *Financial Times* (9.1.61) had the following:

Americans, by their law, may not trade with Communist China. But no law stops them speculating on the effects of

China's misfortunes, and for the past week they have been rushing to do just that. Scene of their operations is the Chicago soybean (spelt this way in America) market, biggest commodity futures market in the world.

The present bout of speculation in soybeans and their products began three months ago, as reports of crop disaster began to seep through from China, only big soya-bean producer apart from America itself. People in the trade saw then that if the usual Chinese exports did not reach Europe, American beans and oil would have to go instead. So they put their money on a rise in the market.

11.

Before the Physiocrats

Notes on Economic History (4)

SIR WILLIAM PETTY
(1623-1687)

MARX, in Volume 1 of *Capital*, says: "Once for all, I may add that by classical political economy I understand that economy which since the time of W. Petty has investigated the real relations of production in bourgeois society, in contradiction to vulgar economy, which deals with appearances only".

This is a tribute to the genius and originality of Sir William Petty, the founder of modern political economy. It is in his *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, London 1662, that we find the first idea of surplus value.

Petty distinguishes the natural price of commodities from the market price, the "true price current". By natural price he means value. This is his main point, as the determination of surplus value depends on the determination of value itself. What, then, is value? Petty determines the value of commodities by the relative amounts of labour which they contain; he is concerned not with appearances, but with foundations.

In the following quotation from his *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* we get the first definition of value:

If a man brings to London an ounce of Silver out of the earth in Peru, in the same time that he can produce a bushel of corn, then one is the natural price of the other; now if by reason of new and more mines a man can get two ounces of silver as easily as formerly he did one, then corn will be as cheap at ten shillings the bushel as it was before at five shillings, *caeteris paribus* (all things being equal).

The next quotation from the same work interests us, as it is the early examination of the value of labour;

The law . . . should allow the labourer but just the wherewithall to live; for if you allow double then he works but half so much as he could have done, and otherwise would; which is a loss to the publick of the fruit of so much labour.

In modern words, in receiving for six hours' labour the value of six hours, the labourer would receive double what he receives if he worked for twelve hours and got only the value of six. He would therefore not work more than six hours. Thus the value of labour is determined by the minimum necessary for subsistence. To induce the labourer to produce surplus value and to perform surplus labour, it is necessary to compel him to expend all the labour power of which he is capable, as the condition upon which he may earn the necessities of life.

Petty recognises two forms of surplus value, ground rent and money rent (interest). He divides the second from the first which, for him, as later for the Physiocrats, is the true form of surplus value. He depicts rent not as simple surplus of labour expended over and above necessary labour, but as a surplus, of the surplus labour of the producer himself over and above his wages and the replacement of his capital; as for example the following:

Suppose a man could with his own hands plant a certain scope of land with corn, that is, could dig, or plough, harrow, weed, reap, carry home, thresh and winnow so much as the husbandry of this land requires; and had withal seed wherewith to sow the same. I say that when this man has subtracted his food

Piece Work in Russia

A "norm" on output has been agreed with the Union and payment above the flat rate depends on exceeding the norm. A telegraphist is expected to handle 100 cables per hour as the norm. For the off-peak period output is filled in largely by greeting telegrams received in advance.

In the sorting office working on a 48-box fitting the norm is 2,400 an hour or 40 a minute and on a 72-box fitting it is 1,800 an hour or 30 a minute. In the first case I was assured that many sorters could reach 3,500 an hour and in the larger fitting it was not unusual to sort 2,500 an hour.

Whether or not a sorter reaches the norm and by how much she exceeds it is determined by weight. Letters and postcards are stacked in small containers and then weighed. A record is made and a duplicate slip placed with the correspondence in the container. Whoever sorts that particular container of work retains the slip and at the end of the duty has a number of these slips which, added together, show the total volume of correspondence sorted.

A member of the staff who doesn't reach the norm is given "encouragement by her colleagues" and sometimes further training. This applies to each of the services and to industry generally. The interest of other members of the staff flows from the fact that, again in common with industry, the P.T.T. services can win awards for outstanding work. These awards take the form of "banners" and are accompanied by cash payments of as much as 400,000 roubles. Seventy per cent of this cash payment is disbursed to the staff as a bonus and the rest goes to the Union to be spent on common welfare provisions and facilities.

The Post, 3.12.60.

Public Meeting
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 19th
7.30 pm

Capitalism, the Insecure Society
**CRISIS IN
THE MOTOR
INDUSTRY**

Speakers: J. D'Arcy, D. McCarthy

DENISON HOUSE
296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd., Victoria

out of the proceed and given to others in exchange for clothes and other natural necessities, that the remainder of the corn is the natural and true rent of the land for that year, and the medium of seven years, or rather of so many years as make up the cycle, within which dearth and plenties make their revolution, doth give the ordinary rent of the land in corn.

To Petty, the value of the corn is determined by the labour time which it contains, while rent, equivalent to the total product after the deduction of wages and seed, equals the surplus labour represented by surplus product. Rent, therefore, includes profit which is inseparable from it.

Petty also shows that the individual character of the labour is of no consequence. Labour time is what matters.

As a final tribute, and summing up of Petty's contribution to political economy, we quote the following extract from Volume III, of *Capital*.

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

Petty . . . and in general the writers who are closer to feudal times, assume that ground rent is the normal form of surplus value, whereas profit to them is still vaguely combined with wages, or at best looks to them like a portion of surplus value filched by the capitalist from the landlord. These writers take their departure from a condition in which the agricultural population still constitutes the overwhelming majority of the nation, and in which the landlord still appears as the individual who appropriates at first hand the surplus labour of the direct producers through his land monopoly, in which land therefore still appears as the chief requisite of production. These writers could not yet face the question, which contrary to them, seeks to investigate from the point of view of capitalist production, how it happens that private ownership in land manages to wrest from capital a portion of the surplus value produced by it at first hand (that is, filched by it from the direct producers), and first appropriated by it.

JOHN LOCKE (1633-1704)

John Locke is probably better known for his philosophy than he is for his contribution to political economy. He follows William Petty in that he regarded human labour as the principal source of wealth, though Petty regarded both labour and land as the important factors. For Locke, nature was of the prime importance. He believed that the laws of nature established personal labour as the natural limit of private property—the limit arising from the physical limitation on the amount of labour an individual can perform, and from the fact that no one should accumulate more than his needs.

Locke was opposed to the private ownership of land. In his opinion ground rent was no different from usury and, due to the unequal distribution of the means of production, was a transfer from one person to another of the profit that should have been the reward of one man's labour. The following quotation from his *Considerations of the Lowering of Interest* is an illustration of this:

Money, therefore, in buying and selling, being perfectly in the same condition with other commodities, and subject to all the same laws of value, let us next see how it comes to be of the same nature with land, by yielding a certain yearly income, which we call use or interest. For land produces naturally something new and profitable, and of value to mankind; but money is a barren thing and produces nothing, but by compact transfers that profit that was the reward of one man's labour into another man's pocket.

Locke's importance is that he is the voice of the juridical theories of capitalist society as opposed to feudalism. His work in philosophy was the basis upon which the thinking of subsequent English economists rested.

SIR DUDLEY NORTH (1641-1690)

Sir Dudley North is best known for his *Discourses upon Trade*. This is mainly concerned with commercial capital, and as such is outside the scope of these notes. The importance of North is that he reflects in his writing the period in which he lived.

From 1663 to 1798, except for the years 1708 and 1709, wheat prices were falling. Landlords complained continuously about falling rents. Industrial capitalists and landowners were concerned about, and did in fact bring about, a reduction in the rate of interest. Up to 1760 it was considered to be in the national interest to maintain and increase the value of land. From 1760 onwards an economic investigation began into the rise in rents, about the increase in the price of land and corn, and of other consumer goods.

The years 1650 to 1750 were full of struggles between "monied interests" and "landed interests". The landowners gradually lost out to the money lenders and financiers of the period. The financiers, with the establishment of the credit system, and the system of State debt, became predominant in society.

Petty, in his works, refers to the complaints of the landlords regarding the fall of rents. He defended the monied interests against the landlords, and placed the rent of money and rent of land in the same category. North, in his writing, follows Petty. It was in this form that capital gave landed property its first set-back, since money-lending at interest was one of the main means for the accumulation of capital.

North seems to have been the first to understand interest correctly. He included both capital and money in "Stock". On price and money his observation that gold and silver serve not as gold and silver in themselves, but only as forms of exchange value, is, for his day, remarkable.

To sum up, the position of the economists before the physiocrats was that they had to try and understand the conditions in which the landlord was being forced out, to the advantage of finance capital which was growing.

R.A.

The Passing Show

The Congo

U.N. OFFICIALS report that 300,000 people are slowly starving to death in the Congo, with two hundred dying every day. This is still further proof, if it were necessary, that it is not enough to be merely *against* capitalism, or colonialism, or the rule of a particular imperial power; one must have constructive proposals as to what is to replace the system to be destroyed—one must, in short, work for the achievement of Socialism, not merely for the destruction of any other economic and social system. A year ago, there were those who criticised the Socialist Party because it would not join in movements for "colonial freedom", such as the one that aimed to throw the Belgians out of the Congo. We pointed out that this would only entail the Congolese people exchanging one set of masters for another. And this is what has occurred. It would be hard to argue, in face of the mass-starvation, in face of the pictures of Congolese children who are nothing more than skin and bone, that the Congolese people are better off today than they were a year ago. In fact the new Congolese masters, to whom the Congolese people were exhorted to give their support, cannot even agree among themselves. And in the squabbling and fighting among the various sections of the new Congolese ruling class—each of which calls in help from foreign states, Russia, America, Ghana, and Belgium among them—it is the ordinary Congolese who suffer. The system of food-growing and food-distribution has in some parts (notably Kasai) almost entirely broken down. And every day more people starve.

Land of opportunity

FEELING DEPRESSED in a monotonous job? Worried about the endless struggle to keep the weekly budget down to the size of your pay packet? Thinking about emigration—perhaps to Canada, land of opportunity?

Before you go, have a look at MacLean's magazine (it calls itself *Canada's National Magazine*) for November 19th, 1960. It carries an article telling you about Canada's rich. A favourite place for their holidays is Frenchman's Creek in Jamaica, where millionaires and their wives can have

peace and privacy for two thousand dollars a week. Last year a Calgary oil millionaire flew a party of his friends to England to watch his horse run in the Derby; the bill he paid covered a week's stay at the Ritz for the party and Rolls-Royces for his friends' trips. A Toronto manufacturer had two swimming pools put in his backyard, complete with lighted fountain, hi-fi music and Japanese teahouse, for 30,000 dollars. A Montreal construction business tycoon often flies to Florida or the Caribbean for weekends in one of the family's two private planes (a DC-3 and a flying boat); once he couldn't get a favourite Chinese dish in Miami, so he rang up his usual restaurant in Montreal and got them to make it and fly it down to him. A multi-millionaire distiller had his house festooned with fifteen thousand lilac blooms for his daughter's wedding; the total wedding bill was reported at 100,000 dollars. Twenty-five upper class wives dress entirely in Paris and London creations at an annual cost of up to forty thousand dollars.

The other side of the coin

YOU'RE KEEN TO GO? Have a look at the next page. This carries the stories of some of the families of Canada's 327,000 unemployed workers. (If we had the same percentage of unemployment in Britain there would be nearly a million out of work.) It tells of the bitterness of men trying to make ends meet on unemployment pay. "Today the boss wants a twenty-year-old man with forty years' experience", some of them said. A fifty-three-year-old steamfitter suggested, "Why don't they shoot us old men? Digging graves for us would make jobs for the younger men". The stories are much the same—mounting bills which cannot be paid, threatening letters from hire-purchase companies as the payments fall behind, the despair of men combing the town every day for jobs and being everywhere refused.

Still, there it is. In a system run by the capitalists you would expect the capitalists to be well off. And you would expect the workers to be badly off. In other words—capitalism in Canada works out much the same as capitalism in Britain. Emigration will give you a change of scenery, but it can't change your class-position in society.

Unfair to the rich

IN THE CURRENT NUMBER of *Oxford Tory*, the Conservative undergraduate journal, there was a surprising item. One writer commented "To say that we have a just society would be, to say the least, an exaggeration". Clearly a true statement, but what a place to find it. However, the very next words dispelled the astonishment. "Look", the writer goes on, "at Schedule A, and the absurd level of death duties". So it isn't the ownership of all the country's factories, and mines, and land by a small ruling class that this Tory finds "unjust", nor the fact that the workers have to labour to support idlers in luxury: he was only concerned with the arrangements made by the capitalist class to pay for the State

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me
the Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose ☐ s ☐ d

Name

Address

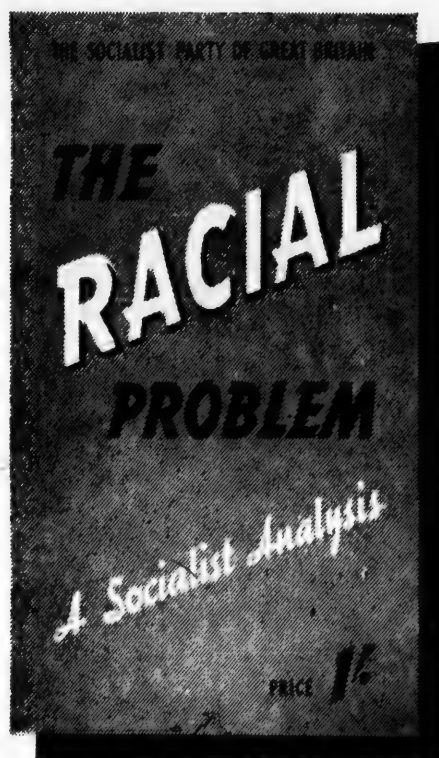
which looks after their interests. Perhaps if he examines the nature of society a little more closely, he will be able to find some more penetrating criticisms of the "just society".

Flogging

SIR THOMAS MOORE, the Conservative M.P. for Ayr Burghs, is again agitating for the introduction of flogging for crimes involving violence. Sir Thomas said that "peace and justice" were the "keywords" of Hitler's policy, and also that "Herr Hitler is absolutely honest and sincere," at a time when Hitler had already set up a dictatorship and begun his campaign to "solve the Jewish problem" with every circumstance of brutality. Socialists do not join in the debate about how criminals should be punished: we go to the root of the problem, by attempting to end the society which gives rise to crime and to criminals. But if Sir Thomas thinks that a man who injures a single other man ought to be flogged, what does he think should be done with political leaders who support dictators whose declared policy is the "liquidation" of millions of their fellow human beings?

A.W.E.

Read



GLASGOW LECTURES

Sundays 7.30

details page 32

Excuses and Admissions

WHEN HE WAS Prime Minister, and a plain Mister, Earl Attlee made something of a name for himself as a calm, quiet, pipe smoking, doodling, ruthless chief. Now that he is in retirement, his views are much sought after by the newspapers, radio and so on, who presumably think that there is nothing so sage and objective as the opinion of the elder statesman. A few months back, Earl Attlee went to a meeting of the World Association of World Federalists in Bonn and there made the sort of speech which was expected of him. In the course of that speech he said, as an indication of the urgency of resolving international disputes, that there were "... not more than ten years in which to find the road to peace."

Now this was something of an admission. If there was one thing for which the last war was suppose to have been fought, it was to ensure a peaceful world. Earl Attlee, as Deputy Prime Minister in the wartime coalition, played his part in promoting that idea in the minds of war-weary workers. Yet here we are, fifteen years after, still apparently looking for the road to peace.

Of course, Earl Attlee's statement is by no means exceptional. Many politicians have a seemingly infinite capacity for explaining away, and promising to remedy, the malfeasances of capitalism. Whatever the strife and poverty which may be evident at any time, there is never a shortage of smooth politicians, each with his solution to the world's problems and the hope of better times to come, when we have found the road to peace or prosperity or some other paradise.

Take, for example, the recent trouble in Laos, over which the State Department displayed its famous trigger-neurosis. A popularly touted solution to this flare up was the recall of the 1954 Geneva Conference. This, we were invited to believe, would do something to settle the Laos disturbance. But this is what the 1954 conference was supposed to have already done; remember the knighthood which Anthony Eden received for the part which he played in it? Now we have evidence that the disputes in Indo-China are as rife as ever. The new trouble spot—Laos—was, in fact, established as an independent state by the Geneva Conference as part of its supposed peace making. What reason is there to assume that another confer-

ence would have any more lasting effect than its predecessor? None whatever. Nevertheless, this is all that capitalism's representatives have to offer.

It is true that these conferences sometimes seem to bear fruit. But this is only a superficial impression; actually, they can only ever manage to suppress one aspect of a particular problem, which is simultaneously in evidence, or about to emerge, somewhere else. Consider the case of Cyprus. For years, the Greek Cypriot nationalists fought the British forces on the island, taking occasional time off to kill Turkish Cypriots or their own traitors. Then came the Zurich Pact which, when the various disagreements had been hammered out, seemed to have put an end to the fighting in Cyprus. Now, apart from the odd settling of a score which was made during the emergency, all is peaceful on the island. What about the rest of the world? We have already mentioned Laos; the war in Algeria goes on; the Belgium Congo is still in bloody confusion. And we know that, if an international conference were to settle these conflicts, similar problems would spring out somewhere else. Perhaps, even, in Cyprus again. This may make the conference look pretty sick as a pacifying instrument, but we can depend on it that it will not prevent the politicians from offering it as a remedy when the world's next sore spot breaks out.

This is not peculiar to the international scene of capitalism. At home, the working class are familiar with—and, sadly, receptive to—the excuses and nostrums which flood from the organs of capitalist opinion as fast as the events which provoke them. Sometimes, directly opposite solutions are proposed for the same problem. The government has stated that, to stabilise the British economy, they must impose some strict controls over hire purchase facilities. In contrast, there are many spokesmen for the industries which thrive on H.P. who take the view that the way to stabilise the economy is to remove, or at any rate to relax, those restrictions. Neither side has any interest in pointing out that the H.P. boom, and the recession which followed, is an example of the fundamental anarchy of capitalist society. At least one firm in the domestic appliance industry felt the H.P. cuts extra keenly because, when the restrictions were off, they invested in a lot of extra

productive capacity to enable them to exploit the market which had opened before them. When the squeeze came, this production—and a lot of workers—became redundant.

Is it too much to hope that the redundant workers will reflect that they have been caught in something which, we were assured, could never happen again? Some capitalist economists are fond of blaming the 1929 crash onto the fact that, in the excitement of the preceding boom, there was a lot of reckless investment which was bound to collapse sooner or later. This was supposed to have taught everyone a lesson. Yet some of the stories which have gone the rounds in the City about the recent collapse of a couple of H.P. finance companies almost recall the days of the South Sea Bubble (although admittedly no company has again reached the blissful state of raising capital to finance "an enterprise the nature of which is to

be divulged.") In their eagerness to exploit the boom the financiers trusted their weight to as creaky limbs as their forebears did in the twenties. Whatever other changes there have been, the basis of capitalism—production for sale—remains. And with it remain the anomalies and upheavals, try as the politicians may to explain them away.

What is to be done about this? Should we look for better politicians, with better excuses? Self evidently, this is futile. Wars, uneasy peace, booms, slumps, poverty are part of capitalism because they spring from the roots of that society. No politician, however smooth, can change that. This, strangely, must be done by the working class over the world. These are the people who produce our wealth, suffer capitalism's wars and its insecurity. Now, they accept their leaders' excuses and apologies. As easily, they could reject them.

IVAN

Sin on the Underground

WHAT'S your pet worry? The Congo? H-Bombs? The Cold War? Anybody who is preoccupied with these pleasures may have missed the petty censorship which was recently imposed upon London's Tube stations and which passed, in fact, with only a little comment from one or two newspapers and the House of Lords. The subject of this censorship was a poster issued by the Family Planning Association which, after being displayed on many Tube stations, was withdrawn when the Transport Commission received some objections to it. The Commission justified their action by referring to a ruling of theirs which states that they "... will not accept posters which refer to religious or sacred subjects in a manner which might give offence or which contain matter or illustrations likely to be considered religiously controversial."

What sort of a poster was it, to involve this ruling? We decided to find out. We spent a fortune on Tube fares, our eyes grew sore on advertisements for corsets, for films starring curvy B.B. or tough-slugging Westerners. We saw posters which exhorted the rush hour workers to partake of gracious living by drinking a certain Brown Ale—with out-of-focus candelabra in the background. Apparently, nothing in this pot-pourri of sex, violence and alcohol had raised a murmur of protest. At last we found

the poster. We examined it closely, searched diligently for something in it which a reasonable person might object to. We could find none. It was not offensive, nor was it lewd. If anything, the people in it were a little overdressed.

It is difficult, then, to imagine the majority of Tube passengers objecting to this advertisement. We can only assume that it was removed because of a minority of religious purgers, who pressed their point in a barrage of protest. We have seen this happen before: the Lord's Day Observance Society has used the technique for years, often against Roman Catholics. A more subtle method of suppression, this, than of yore, when Catholics would reduce to human charcoal any burglar or peasant who had difficulty in grasping a Papal chemical formula about bread and wine turning into flesh and blood. Or when Calvinists would burn a scholar who rejected a complex theory which held that there was a being called God, who was three people—and at the same time only one. More subtle, because the spread of materialist knowledge has made it harder to whip up hatred over theological disputes; but still reprehensible. For human progress depends upon the decisions of conscious people, not upon gags applied to society by a sanctimonious minority.

What about birth control? Much of

the opposition to it is almost a mania for the intensely personal nature of sexual relationships makes it easy to rouse strong feelings in the matter. Some opponents—notably the Catholics—maintain that the use of contraceptives is a defiance of the "Almighty Will"; others that it invites an increase in juvenile promiscuity. Can we expect, then, that Catholics are not promiscuous? The Chief Medical Officer of the London County Council has reported that during 1959 there were 183 unmarried female immigrants from Catholic, anti-birth control Eire who, because they were pregnant when they came to this country, had to be assisted by the L.C.C. Welfare department. The Catholic Church is as helpless as any other organisation in these matters. Without a doubt, much of the religious opposition to birth control is roused by the fact that it is an attempt to shape our own environment, instead of leaving it to the will of a mythical supernatural being.

In fact, birth control is at present only a method of spreading out workers' relative poverty, an attempt to prevent ourselves slipping too far into degradation and dire need. Whether we practice it or not, whether we have two children or sixteen we remain workers, depending on our wage to live. In underdeveloped countries, birth control is often given official backing, but the older established capitalist nations leave it as a matter of personal choice, only raising the issue of government support in, for example, times of slump.

We should remember that man's future lies within his own society and that birth control could be a factor in fashioning the sort of world that man desires. But this in turn depends upon man's social knowledge and his rejection of, for example, religious theories with their threats of hellfire and purgatory. When he has reached that stage, he will be facing the many aspects of living a civilised life in a developed society and there will be no bigots to decide what he may or may not do.

JACK LAW

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 p.m.

East Street, Walworth

February 5th and 19th (12 noon)

February 12th and 26th (11 a.m.)

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 p.m.

The Real Army Game

SO AN ARMY commanding officer banned his troops from viewing the television programme, "The Army Game", on the grounds that it "appears to portray little that bears any relation to the present-day Army."

But would Major Bill Cook really approve a true depiction of the Army—whether of today or of earlier days of the present order? Would he like to see revealed, for instance, the purpose of armies in current society? If so, he can well be accommodated by socialists.

Society as today constituted is composed of two classes, the capitalist class and the working class. Although the dominating faction. This is due to workers, in numbers, overwhelmingly preponderate, it is the capitalists who are the circumstance that the capitalist class owns (in the form of the land, factories, machines etc.), the means of producing the means of life.

The workers, on the other hand, have no such means and implements of production, and to secure food, clothing and shelter and provision for their families, must offer for sale to the owning class their mental and physical energies. The price (or wages) paid for these energies are at a level that will roughly purchase the necessities of life. But those very energies (or labour power) are bought for working spells more than sufficient to produce the value of the wages paid for them. In a five-day working week this value may be produced by the end of the third day; the value produced on the fourth and fifth day, therefore, is a value

in excess of the workers' labour-power value and thus the wages that represent that value in monetary terms of the food, clothing etc., required for the restoration of expended energies. This excess is thus a *surplus value* congealed, as it were, in the products (or commodities) the workers have produced for their masters. Surplus value, with the sale of the commodities incorporating it, is realised as profit; which, by continually flowing to the capitalist class enables them to further capitalise their businesses and live without the necessity of working.

Thus one sees the capitalist class as a relatively tiny section of the community, but a section which enjoys benefits denied to that much larger section, the working class. And added to the economic advantage of ownership of the productive means goes the political advantage of a State apparatus, the machinery of government, which since the birth of capitalism has carried out its appointed function of preserving the social set-up, and of conserving the masters' monopoly of the wealth produced by the working class. Included in this State apparatus are the coercive and armed forces which, possibly when all other official influences have failed, will be called upon to protect or restore "law and order" against any development likely to interrupt capitalism's normal productive and distributive processes or to subvert in any way the privileged position of the capitalists over the workers. And among the armed coercive forces, of course, is the Army.

As a force intended to be the last resort "persuaders" of large numbers of people—hungry and desperate strikers and unemployed demonstrators as in some cases—the Army is provided with weapons and taught how to use them. The result is that, in cases of threatened subversion etc., the Army is an efficient repressive force through its trained ability to maim or kill. Whether or not years elapse without such measures being applied, this remains one of the purposes behind the Army's existence.

There, then, lies the capitalist need for armies in the country of their being. But each national capitalist grouping also needs an armed force to defend or further its interests outside its homeland. Behind each of these national groupings, whatever the nation encompassing it,

lies the pressure of competition. American capitalism contends with Russian, British with German, French with Japanese—indeed, each nation contends with all others in a quest for markets by which to sell its commodities, which have been produced by the workers of each competing country.

Hence between the national capitalist factions, there exists a struggle for markets, but for each competitive needs as cheaper fields of exploitation, economical trading routes, and all the other advantages that will enable their possessors to offer their commodities at competitive prices. Often the acquirement of these advantages can be effected only by filching them from rivals. From the diplomatic moves, the changing strategies, there come the international crises, the tensions, the cold wars—too often to end in a hot war.

It is then that the Army of each country concerned is ordered, with the other armed services, to carry out its function as the protector of the foreign interests of its native capitalist class. Not that the protection of capitalist interests will be the reason given for hurling masses of young men, mostly members of the working class, into bloody conflict against other masses of young men, similarly mainly workers. The various propaganda machines will manufacture high-sounding excuses. The war is a fight for "democracy over autocracy", for "breathing-space", to defend "the rights of small nations". Augmented now by hosts of wartime conscripts the task for each army is to wreak what havoc, destruction and death it can upon the armies of the "enemy" countries. For no other reason than that they have been ordered to do so by their respective governments, man kills man so that his masters' trading interests are furthered or at least protected from damage.

One can scarcely expect a socially progressive and enlightened development among men trained to carry out the anti-social act of war. Certain it is that many of those whose military job is to make "good soldiers" are of necessity tyrannous and not far different to "The Army Game's" Sergeant-Major Bullimore.

But perhaps this portrayal is too realistic for Major Cook. However, the Major need have no fear that "The Army Game" will in any way harm the Army. The Government, as the virtual executive committee of British capitalism, will see to that.

F.W.H.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Wembley Writers Class

Commencing Friday February 3rd, 8pm
then alternate weeks
Barham Junior School, Linthorpe Ave,
Wembley (nearly opp. Branch Room)

Back to Normal

AT THE LAST two General Elections we heard much about the wonderful affluent conditions in which we were living. "You've never had it so good" was a Mac Wonder phrase much in the air. We have also distinct memories of "doubling our standard of living within twenty-five years". The air was as Hamlet said "promise-crammed" but as he himself tartly added "you cannot feed capons so".

These promises have now come home to roost. All the other old and well-worn phrases and threats have now been dusted and polished and taken out of storage. The air is now full of them, as threatening. For example, Selwyn Lloyd:

I will simply point out that no one in the world owes us a living and if we don't earn it by hard work in this field, the standard of living in this country will go down. It's goodbye to dreams of expansion and social progress.

Translated this means—"Work harder. Don't ask for higher wages or else . . ."

And another pearl from Mr. Lloyd, "The whole emphasis should be on saving labour or increasing efficiency and on being competitive". Then as if to sugar the pill—"Far from that being a threat to full employment it is the only way to maintain it".

It would be interesting to hear the comments of the recently sacked motor workers (and those put on short time) on that last bit.

The facts of the matter are that in present-day competitive capitalist society goods can be sold only if, in terms of quality and price, they match up to, or improve upon similar or identical products from elsewhere: the ultimate purpose being to provide a profit for the owners. If this purpose of profit-making is threatened, production eases off, and workers are put on short-time or sacked. Of course, you may rest assured that no capitalist politician is ever going to make this plain to you.

M. JUDD



FEBRUARY 1911

(1)

MIGHT IS RIGHT

Man has a right to live only—if he can. The mightiest beast and the meanest parasite have as much right to live—and as little. . . .

Yet nature is not cruel: she knows nothing of emotions. She leaves her children to fight things out for themselves, giving them one universal law: Might is Right. . . .

The revolutionary requires no other justification than that of expediency. No revolutionary in history ever really did. True they have paid much lip service to Justice and other figments of the popular mind, but that has been only because they have required the assistance of those who were to gain nothing from revolution, and who had therefore to be inspired with empty phrases and confused with humbug. But the highest sanction revolutionaries ever have required has been—opportunity.

The Socialist asks no more. Let who will grovel at the feet of Justice, or slobber over the "Natural Rights of Man"—the Socialist has no use for such meaningless vapourings. . . .

Against the might of the strong few shall be put the might of the many weak ones. Before that might capitalism and private ownership will go down for ever. Then, when society founded upon common property in

the means of life, has become one harmonious whole, the brutal dictum, might is right, will hold good only between the social organism and external nature, while between man and man a new ethic will arise—or rather the old ethic of gentile society under a new form—that only the social good is right.

From the *Socialist Standard*,
February, 1911.

(2)

SOCIALISM

HARD TO GRASP

No part of the Socialist proposition seems more difficult to the average worker than the proposal to abolish money, price and trade. So deep has the idea of commerce been driven into the working class that they have come to believe themselves formed for the sole purpose of working and increasing trade.

In capitalist production the toiler is, indeed, just a piece of mechanism, necessary to the progress of trade, and he has been taught to believe that such is all he is fitted to be.

To-day we live to work, and the proposal of the Socialist—undoubtedly a revolutionary one—to reverse the sequence, to produce wealth in order to live, seems to be beyond the comprehension of the wage-slave. His brain, stored with capitalist ideas, cannot get away from the notions connected with capitalist methods of production and exchange, hence the information that under a Socialist system no wages would be paid comes to him as a shock.

From the *Socialist Standard*,
February, 1911.

What Can I Do?

- ★ Get Newsagents to sell the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Subscriptions for the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Libraries to display the Socialist Standard
- ★ Persuade friends and workmates to buy the Socialist Standard
- ★ Sell and Display the Socialist Standard everywhere

Meetings

FILMS AT HEAD OFFICE

52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

February 5th
"WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?"
Speaker: Bob Rose.

February 12th
"THE ATLANTIC DECADE"

February 19th
"GERMANY—KEY TO EUROPE"
Speaker: V. Phillips.

February 26th
"BLACK AND WHITE IN S. AFRICA"
Speaker: C. May.

March 5th
"DUES AND THE UNION"
Speaker: Frank Simpkins.

March 12th
"ARE PEOPLE SHEEP?"
Speaker: Michael.

SUNDAY LECTURES

A series of theoretical lectures at Central Club (Small Hall), 127 Clerkenwell Road, Grays Inn Road, E.C.1 (next to Holborn Hall). Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

February 5th
"HISTORICAL ASPECT OF TRADE UNIONS"
Speaker: C. May.

February 12th
"FABIANISM & THE EARLY LABOUR MOVEMENT"
Speaker: E. Grant.

February 26th
"SOCIALISTS & POLITICAL ECONOMY"

PUBLIC MEETING—DENISON HOUSE
296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.1.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19th, 7.30 p.m.
"CRISIS IN THE CAR INDUSTRY"
Capitalism—the Insecure Society.
Speakers: J. D'Arcy and D. McCarthy.

HACKNEY LECTURE
Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E.2.
Wednesday, 15th February, 8 p.m.
"AUTOMATION"
Speaker: P. Bryant.



Party News

Many meetings are being held throughout the month and all of them need the fullest support of members and sympathisers to ensure the utmost success of the meetings. Full details are given on page —. Support of all propaganda meetings is as essential to the furtherance of the Party's case as are writing and speaking.

Conference, 1961, is being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on Friday, March 31st, and Saturday and Sunday, April 1st and 2nd. Please note the dates. Provincial branches sending delegates are asked to contact Head Office immediately if their delegates need accommodation during Conference. London members are happy to assist wherever possible, but arrangements can best be made if good notice is given beforehand.

MEETINGS

Indoor meetings are being held by many branches in different parts of the country and the notices in this issue are worth special study. No other organisation can offer lectures of the range and calibre of the S.P.G.B., and they give an opportunity to keep abreast of current developments.

Especially, we would like to emphasise the choice of meetings in London, particularly on Sunday nights during February.

At Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, interesting films are subjected to Socialist analysis and debate. At the Central Club Hall, Clerkenwell Road, a series of lectures is in progress dealing with fundamental political issues; these started successfully in January and are well worth attend-

ance. In addition, on February 19th a highly topical meeting is being run at Denison House, Victoria, on the Crisis in the motor car industry. All the London meetings mentioned start at 7.30 p.m. Advertisements are being placed elsewhere, but now is the time to make a note of the meetings you wish to attend.

P. H.

GLASGOW MEETINGS.

Room 2, Door G, St. Andrew's Hall, Berkeley Street.
Sundays 7.30 p.m. (prompt)

February 5th
"SCOTLAND—THE UNEMPLOYED"
Speaker: R. Reid.

February 12th
"WHERE THE REFORMERS FAIL"
Speaker: D. Donaldson.

February 19th
"WHAT THE PAPERS DARE NOT SAY"
Speaker: R. Donnelly.

February 26th
"SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED"
Speaker: T. A. Mulhern.

PADDINGTON LECTURES

"The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.).
Wednesdays, 9 p.m.

February 1st
"MARXISM—METHOD OR DOGMA"
Speaker: W. Read.

February 8th
"KARL LIEBKNECHT AND GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY"
Speaker: I. Jones.

February 22nd
"AUTOMATION"
Speaker: P. Bryant.

March 1st
"JEHOVAH WITNESSES"
Speaker: Tom Law.

March 8th
"TRADE UNIONISM"
Speaker: C. May.

PUBLIC MEETING MAHATMA GHANDI HALL

41 Fitzroy Square, Tottenham Court Road, W.1 (near Warren Street Underground).
SUNDAY, 19th March, 7 p.m.
"CAPITALISM, UNO or SOCIALISM?"
Speakers: P. Bryant, E. Grant.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

Public Meeting
DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM
ST. PANGRAS TOWN HALL EUSTON ROAD, NW1
Wednesday 19th April 7 p.m.
★ SEE MARCH SOCIALIST STANDARD FOR MORE DETAILS

**DEMONSTRATE
FOR SOCIALISM**
see back page

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Effective protest against nuclear weapons demands protest against the whole monstrosity of war. The abolition of war can only be achieved by the re-organisation of society and the establishment of Socialism



- 38 *A Horror Story*
- 39 *The Keir Hardie Myth*
- 43 *Ford in Deep Water*
- 44 *Distress in the U.S.A.*
- 46 *The Physiocrats*

WHERE IS CND GOING?

see page 35

MARCH 1961 **6^p** JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN^o

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (9th & 23rd March) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 3rd March at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 17th March at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (13th March) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (2nd Mar: discussion, 16th Mar: business) 8 pm, "Kings Head," 4 Fulham High Street, Putney Bridge, SW6. Correspondence: L. Cox, 13 Shelley House, Churchill Gdns. SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (1st, 15th & 29th March) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulheron, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (13th & 27th March) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (6th & 20th March) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakley, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (1st 15th & 29th March) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (13th & 27th March) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex).

SWANSEA 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th & 24th March) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: F. J. Scrine, 10 Beach Street, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th & 23rd March) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N6 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th & 24th March) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 16th March 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

March 1961 Vol 57 No 679

Where is CND going?

(i) Stopping the Arms Race

Contents

- 37 A Parable by Tolstoy
- 38 A Horror Story
- 39 The Keir Hardie Myth
- 40 News in Review
Death Penalty
Lies in Fleet Street
Crime and Punishment
"Democratic" Portugal
- 42 The Passing Show
- 43 Ford in Deep Water
- 44 Finance and Industry
Distress in the U.S.A.
Labour Saving Machines
American Fears
A "Communist" Solution
- 46 Printers Strike—1911
- 46 The Physiocrats
- 47 Family Car
- 48 Party News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

WHEN the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was launched three years ago the declared aim was to get the British Government to abandon all use of, and direct or indirect reliance on, nuclear weapons. This was to be a step to world-wide agreement to ban them and promote a reduction of armaments. They accepted the description "Unilateralists"—the British Government should be prepared to "go it alone"—in contra-distinction to the Bevan-Gaitskell "Multilateralists", who argued that the only way to get what they wanted was to keep the bomb and continue to negotiate "from strength".

Nuclear disarmament gained many converts, including former bomb-supporters like Lord Russell, won over the executives of many trade unions, and carried the day at the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party in 1960. Though it is a long step from getting a small majority vote in a divided Labour Party to gaining control of the Government, they were naturally elated with success and expecting to go on to victory. Now elation is giving place to doubt.

The Rev. Donald Soper explains why, in an article "What Next for CND?", *Tribune* (20.1.61). He thinks that the Campaign may by now have passed its peak and accepts the argument of another CND supporter, Mr. Wayland Young, that CND may be faced with a new situation which will rob them of their best propaganda point. He puts it in the terms that "it looks more possible than before that some kind of general all-round agreement on nuclear disarmament

may be reached". He thinks that the Government never regarded CND as more than an "embarrassing minority movement".

This "general all-round agreement" has not yet been reached by the H-Bomb governments but the mere possibility that it may be will weaken CND and help Gaitskell and the Government. Another factor in the same direction is the election of Kennedy as U.S. President and his acceptance by Mr. Crossman as well as by Mr. Gaitskell as a supposed "progressive" influence more likely to reach agreement with the Russian Government.

In this situation the Wayland Young—Soper line is for CND to escape from its blind alley by switching the emphasis of its campaign to general disarmament.

By doing this CND will take its place with the long line of humanitarian campaigns to lessen the horror of war by opposing each new and more horrible weapon as it came along: the campaigns against making war on civilians, against artillery bombardment of towns, against aerial bombing, against poison gas, the blockade, submarine warfare, napalm bombs, flame-throwers etc., etc. None of them have succeeded and each new decade has seen the accepted weapons grow more destructive. Whenever weapons have been discarded, or not used, the decision has been made by governments and their military advisers, on grounds of effectiveness and the risks of counter action, not on grounds of humanity.

Of course the campaigners of the

past were able, from time to time, to point to short lived successes in the form of Hague Conventions, and other international pacts, in which the Powers solemnly swore to refrain from this or that weapon, and indeed from using war as an instrument at all. But every war produced its evidence that the signatures meant nothing. All of the hundred or so countries in the United Nations have undertaken to settle their disputes by peaceful means and refrain from the threat or use of force but no government treats this as more than a pious aspiration, and so it would be with a new declaration about the H-Bomb.

In peacetime the Powers might agree to suspend further tests and manufacture, or even promise to destroy their bombs, but if large-scale war broke out it would all begin again. It is not possible to remove from the world the knowledge and capacity to manufacture H-Bombs. In the future as in the past the question of use will be determined by the governments on military assessments; with however this difference that as wars are fought by all the Powers in this capitalist world not for abstractions like "honour and glory" but for the real concrete aims of wealth, trade, and profits, and as a massive H-Bomb war would destroy the lot, (including the lives of the propertied class) military considerations point to avoidance of the ultimate destruction, but not to the avoidance of tactical nuclear weapons.

If it switches its emphasis to general disarmament the campaign will at once come up against the varying and contradictory aims of the diverse elements that came together to ban the bomb. They can no doubt all agree on an ambiguous phrase like "stopping the armament race" since this has the attraction from the point of view of the general body of the propertied class in all countries that it holds out hopes of cutting the cost of their armaments and their tax burden. But dissension will at once appear if one group in CND presses for unilateral general disarmament, by Great Britain on its own. Any such demand will be resisted by those who hate the H-Bomb but stand by conventional arms, men like Mr. Cousins of the

Transport and General Workers Union who argued that the British army got on all right in the last war without H-Bombs, and Mr. Priestley who, at the inauguration of CND was talking about fighting "with anything from shotguns . . . to bombs made out of corned beef tins" (*Daily Herald* 5 March 1958).

None of those CND supporters who think in terms of war with "conventional weapons" in an H-Bomb world have explained how they would meet a demand from an H-Bomb enemy for immediate surrender under threat of an H-Bomb attack.

Lord Russell, however, the sometime opponent and sometime supporter of war, accepted the logic of the position and tersely declared that it was better to be "slaves" of an enemy power than to be dead.

No doubt the varying views of the different groups in CND explain the

(2) Neutralism and Pacifism

Other elements in CND are the Neutralists and the Pacifists. The first group cherishes the blinkered delusion that one country can contract out of world power politics by the simple announcement that it is "neutral". The colonies held down by foreign armies, the scores of "neutral" countries overrun in great wars are sufficient answer to this.

India is "neutralist" but finds China encroaching on allegedly Indian territory, and we see Nehru being forced to assure a cheering Parliament in New Delhi "that if India and China went to war India would fight to the end", even if it lasted generations (*Daily Herald* 26 November 1960). Tibet, like Japan and China in an earlier phase, first wanted to be left alone and asked foreigners to keep out, but capitalist greed and arms dictated otherwise. Abyssinia overrun by Italy, and Hungary kept down by Russian troops, are other examples.

When we come to those who are loosely called "pacifists" we are dealing with several quite different points of view. The term is often applied indiscriminately to those who can grounds of policy want to keep out of

confused statements made on their behalf by their Chairman, Canon Collins, as for example in correspondence in *The Times* last November. Answering the charge that CND's activities were in fact favouring Russia against America he declared that "no suggestion that America should renounce nuclear weapons while Russia retains hers is to be found in the literature of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament", and that CND would make exactly the same request to both Powers (*Times* 17 November). But he also explained that CND believes it to be immoral, risky and futile for these two Powers to have nuclear weapons though they do not realise it (*Times* 26 November). But if it is immoral, risky and futile, those are reasons for each and every government to give them up unilaterally, and CND logically ought to be telling them so.

a particular war as did Ramsay MacDonald in 1914; to those who believe that "pledges for peace" will prevent war, but who in the event of war hold themselves bound to support it; and those who believe in non-violence and non-resistance whatever the consequences.

They all came together between the wars in the "no-more war" movements. They looked back at the sickening horror and dismal aftermath of the first world war, "The War to End War", and said never again! But the British Government and its propagandists, in the build-up for World War II, were not so foolish as to use that discredited slogan again. Instead the second war was proclaimed to be for "the defence of democracy and human liberty" against Hitlerism. So, on the plea that this was "different", most of the no-more war army was converted, to "just one more", including some, like Lord Russell and Mr. (now Lord) Morrison who had opposed World War I.

The fate of those who, using the term more strictly, can properly be called pacifists is different but no less tragic. They preach peace where

there is no peace and advocate non-violence in a capitalist world which has to rest on violence.

Their best-known spokesman was Gandhi, who many of them still believe to have triumphed in India. Gandhi thought otherwise. The Indian capitalist-nationalist movement was content to parade behind Gandhi and his ideas while it was seeking independence from British rule, but, as Gandhi sadly confessed, they dropped him when the objective had been gained and went in for massive armaments like all the rest of

(3) Capitalism cannot disarm

The dilemma that faces the Gandhian pacifists and which makes nonsense of all campaigns for "total disarmament" is that the propertied class need armaments to protect their property and the functioning of their trading and profit seeking system.

If they gave up reliance on force their privileged position would vanish overnight, as Gandhi tacitly admitted when he justified the use of police against strike pickets. They likewise need armaments to protect the interests of each national capitalist group in the ceaseless struggle over markets, mineral resources, trade routes, strategic frontiers and so on. Disarmament is an abstraction that no government can treat seriously. One pacifist, the Reverend Donald Soper, has dimly seen this. He wrote: "Peace can neither be achieved nor maintained under capitalism or imperialism or even nationalism because selfishness and violence are indigenous to all three of them" (*Tribune* 14 March 1958).

What does anyone suppose would happen to Colonel Nasser's Suez Canal if he disarmed? Or to the governments of Fidel Castro and Dr. Verwoerd, or to the governments of Ghana, India, China, Russia, U.S.A. or Britain, or all the others? The ones that disarmed on their own would be the immediate prey of the others. And if, as an impossible hypothesis, we are asked to conceive of them all disarming, the wealth of the propertied class (starting with the gold and cur-

the Powers. As soon as independence was won India and Pakistan armed against each other and came to the verge of open war, which led Gandhi to declare:—

"As for myself, my way is different. I worship God which is truth and non-violence. There was a time when India listened to me. Today I am a back number. I have no place in the new order where they want an army, a navy and an air force and what not. I can never be a party to all that."

A Parable

by LEO TOLSTOY

I see mankind as a herd of cattle inside a fenced enclosure. Outside the fence are green pastures and plenty for the cattle to eat. While inside the fence there is not quite enough for the cattle. Consequently, the cattle are trampling underfoot what little grass there is and goring each other to death in their struggle for existence. I saw the owner of the herd come to them and when he saw their pitiable condition, he was filled with compassion for them, and thought of all he could do to improve their condition. So he called his friends together and asked them to assist him in cutting grass from outside the fence and throwing it over the fence to the cattle. And that they called Charity. Then because the calves were dying off and not growing up into serviceable cattle, he arranged that they should each have a pint of milk every morning for breakfast. Because they were dying off in the cold nights, he put up beautiful, well-drained and well-ventilated cow-sheds for the cattle. Because they were goring each other in the struggle for existence, he put corks on the horns of the cattle, so that the wounds they gave each other might not be so serious. Then he reserved a part of the enclosure for the old bulls and the old cows over seventy years of age. In fact, he did everything he could think of to improve the condition of the cattle, and when I asked him why he did not do the one obvious thing, break down the fence and let the cattle out, he answered: "If I let the cattle out, I should no longer be able to milk them."

For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4



HIROSHIMA, August 1945

Imperial War Museum

A Horror Story

At 8.16 a.m. precisely on Monday, August 6th 1945, the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. As a result something like 78,000 people were killed instantly. Another 139,830, most of whom must be presumed to have perished, were listed as missing, and 36,425 were injured. These figures are from a recently surveyed report by the Japanese Welfare Ministry.

A recently published book, *No High Ground*, by Knebel and Bailey,* purports to tell the secret history of the planning and dropping of this bomb. To those already painfully aware of the inhuman machinations of capitalist politics, in or out of war, none of the revelations will come as a big surprise. All too easily we remember the Passchendaeles, the Stalingrads and the Koreas—battlefields to which our rulers were prepared to despatch thousands to their deaths in the defence of their interests. Nonetheless the atomic act of annihilation deserves singling out both for its unique horror and for some of its lessons.

There are those naive enough to imagine that the sole blame and responsibility for the first atomic bomb rested with Truman. But long before, in 1944, Roosevelt and Churchill advised by their high military officers, had already ticketed Japan as the probable recipient of the first bomb. "Ger-

*Weidenfeld and Nicholson (21s.).

many had been crossed off as a possibility and intelligence believed that the tottering Nazi regime would collapse long before that" (P. 89). At this time the project was so secret that not even Truman, Vice-President though he was, had any knowledge of the atomic bomb.

What real choice Truman had is revealed by the words of the organiser of the production of the bomb, General Groves. "The President was like a little boy on a toboggan. He never had an opportunity to say 'we will drop the bomb'. All he could do was say 'no'. Any political leader who refused to drop it would have been 'crucified' if American lives had subsequently been lost in an invasion of Japan". (P. 243 and 244.)

Speaking of lost lives, the Japanese rulers (many of whom are still hale and hearty to-day) had no less compunction in sending thousands of their subjects to their doom. "We must not rest a single day in our war effort. . . . We must bear in mind that the annihilation of the stubborn enemy is our road to revenge. . . . We must subjugate all difficulties and pain, and go forward to battle for our Emperor". This, the last insult, is part of a proclamation issued by the Japanese cabinet AFTER the dropping of the bomb. Before this, too, the Japanese cabinet had rejected a demand for surrender knowing that the Americans had made preparations

to unleash an unparalleled assault on their mainland and that this would inevitably result in very high casualty rates. "Top priority," they declared, "was to be given to defence" (P. 9). What the Americans were able to do at will, and without the atom bomb, is illustrated by the following:—

"On the night of March 9, sixteen square miles of Tokyo were set ablaze by the B-29's. Two thousand tons of incendiary bombs fired the city as though it were a forest in the American West. 78,000 were killed". (P. 98).

But what would the Americans in their turn have done if the atom bomb had been a spluttering dud? In anticipation of this possibility they had a full-scale plan to hand to invade the Japanese mainland in which 100,000 casualties seemed likely to be, to one observer, a conservative estimate. Exaggeration? "In all, three quarters of a million men could be involved. Hospitals in the Philippines, the Marianas and Okinawa were to have 54,000 beds ready. Twelve hospital ships would be off-shore when the first wave landed. At each beachhead, would be an L.S.T. loaded with whole blood". (P. 8 and 9.)

The pathetic manner in which the men of science knuckled under to their political masters is also well illustrated. Their role of subservience to the needs of capitalism, irrespective of the call of their consciences, is made clear. From the time when Niels Bohr, the Danish physicist, confided to a friend that in Denmark the uranium atom had been split with a release of energy calculated to be a million times as powerful as that from an equal amount of high explosive, all the scientists involved showed themselves completely unable to effect any control over the ultimate purpose and use of this new "Frankenstein". The scientific advisers came to the same conclusions as political advisors.

In April 1945, Secretary of State Stimson urged Truman to appoint a committee to advise him on atomic policy. This in turn appointed a scientific advisory panel with the leading atomic scientists on it. This committee was asked to prepare a report on the possibility of an atomic bomb explosion. They advised that the bomb

be dropped on Japan as soon as possible, WITHOUT specific warning, and that it be delivered on a target susceptible to maximum blast damage. It was obvious that many civilians would be killed (see P. 105). Two billion dollars had been spent in secret. It was imperative to see if the thing worked.

Whether an atomic bomb explosion would bring Japan to its knees was, to the American leaders, a moot point and as their military forces were up to their necks in mud and blood on the Pacific Islands at the time they were not prepared to bank on it. Besides, supposing the bomb was a failure? This would put new heart into the Japanese leaders and place them in a better bargaining position. Far better to drop the bomb for if it were a failure no one would be the wiser and pressure could be continued as before on orthodox military lines. This was the policy laid down by the Allied leaders and no qualms of conscience on the part of any scientists could make them change

it. If you sup with the Devil. . . .

Then again another factor had begun to loom large. It was the Russian Bear, who was beginning to demand too much and was generally making a nuisance of himself. This was the period of the Potsdam conference. Germany was defeated and Europe was a political vacuum. Would not this new "firecracker" help to tame this growling animal and curb his appetite for the loot of Europe and the Far East? Is this conjecture? Again our authors come to the rescue. On the eve of the Hiroshima explosion Truman was on his way back from Potsdam aboard ship. On being asked if he had made a deal with Stalin he replied that "if the Russians had been somewhat difficult at Potsdam it did not matter because the United States had now developed an entirely new weapon of such force and nature that we did not need the Russians—or any other nation" (P. 3.) Such is the raw material of capitalist politics—carnage.

horror, destruction, misery, pain, annihilation.

In their description of the aftermath of the Hiroshima explosion the authors give us the following cameo. "A fifteen or sixteen-year-old girl suddenly popped up alongside our boat and as we offered her our hand to pull her on board, the front of her face suddenly dropped off as though it were a mask. The nose and other facial features suddenly dropped off with the mask, leaving only a pink, peach-like face front with holes where the eyes, nose and mouth used to be. As the head dropped under the surface, the girl's black hair left a swirling black eddy". (P. 186.)

A horror story? Yes, it is the horror story of a society based upon class ownership of the resources of production, whose aim is to supply a ruling class with profits, privilege and power for the preservation of which they are prepared to destroy, mutilate, lay waste and, if necessary, annihilate.

M. JUDD.

The Keir Hardie Myth

The myth about Keir Hardie's attitude to war is very persistent. At an anti-Polaris rally in Glasgow last December, the Co-operative Movement representative had only to refer to him, ". . . if we could get Keir Hardie here . . .", to have his words drowned by applause. Whatever the sentiments of the audience may have been, it was certainly in error about Hardie's attitude to war.

In 1914, with the Great War drawing near, the Second International called for "Peace demonstrations" throughout Europe. On August 2nd, in Trafalgar Square, Hardie spoke at the "Peace demonstration". Sentimentality and emotionalism were offered in place of the sound education and organisation needed by the workers. Two days later the War began, and the Second International collapsed, its unsound base giving way beneath the strain. In the *Labour Leader* Hardie proclaimed, "The I.L.P. will at least stand firm. Keep the Red Flag flying!". "Brave words indeed, but wholly false. For the I.L.P. turned out to be standing firm on

one issue and that was on the question of party unity. To preserve this unity, to retain the greatest number of members within the fold, the most opportunist and unprincipled formulas were applied to justify the conduct of individual party members. The flag hoisted by Hardie and his fellow "Labour Leaders" was a clear and unmistakable Union Jack.

In articles directed at his electorate in Merthyr, Keir Hardie made his position clear. "A nation at war must be united especially when its existence is at stake. In such filibustering expeditions as our own Boer War or the recent Italian war over Tripoli, where no national danger of any kind was involved there were many occasions for diversity of opinion and this was given voice to by the Socialist Party of Italy and the Stop the War Party in this country. Now the situation is different. With the boom of the enemy's guns within earshot, the lads who have gone forth by sea and land to fight their country's battles must not be disheartened by any discordant note at home."

(*Pioneer*, Merthyr 15th Aug., 1914). The man who recoiled from the talk of waging the Class War was quite prepared to have workers serve "their Motherland" in Imperialist War; he wrote that "We must see the war through, but we must also make ourselves so familiar with the facts as to be able to intervene at the earliest possible moment in the interests of peace" (*Pioneer* 15th Aug., 1914.) Let no one be deceived by the mention of the "earliest possible moment" because for Hardie this was a very long way off and he was in fact prepared to support a long, drawn-out conflict in Europe. As he put it on 28th November, 1914, "May I once again revert for the moment to the I.L.P. pamphlets? None of them clamour for immediately stopping the war. That would be foolish in the extreme, until at least the Germans have been driven back across their own frontier, a consummation which, I fear, carries us forward through a long and dismal vista" (*Pioneer*, Merthyr).

Time after time Hardie fed workers

the lie that they were part of a "nation" and as such were bound up in the quarrels of their masters. Not "International Working Class Solidarity", but "Class Collaboration" was his rallying cry, for Hardie was a patriot and proud of it. "I am not a pro-German", he wrote, "and still less am I a pro-Russian. I am a pro-Briton, loving my country and caring for her people. Any war of aggression against the rights and liberties of my country I would resist to the last drop of blood in my veins. But I have not seen, outside the columns of the yellow Jingo Press, any proofs that our interests as a nation were in any way imperilled or threatened by a war in which Austria and Germany and Russia and France were involved" (*Pioneer*, Merthyr, 22nd Aug., 1914).

But although he was a patriot, Hardie would not appear on the official Government recruiting platforms. In the first place he could not stomach the crude jingoism and Imperialism that emerged from these platforms and secondly he wished to remain free to present the I.L.P. version of the events that had led to Britain's involvement in the war. He believed that if the people were told frankly about the "Secret Diplomacy" that had piloted Britain into the war, and were shown how the war, though "unjust," had put the country in peril, the needed volunteers would emerge and there would be no need for jingoistic exhortations or conscription. This in Hardie's view was the "right method" and belief in this method led Hardie to boast that he had been instrumental (together with his colleagues) in securing more recruits for the Armed Forces than his Liberal opponents.

Writing in the *Pioneer* of November 28th, 1914, Keir Hardie made his claim thus: "I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men from enlisting; I know too well all there is at stake. But, frankly, were I once more young and anxious to en-

list, I would resent more than anything the spectacle of young, strong, flippant upstarts, whether M.P.s or candidates, who had the audacity to ask me to do for my country what they had not the heart to do themselves. Of all causes, this surely is the one in which actions speak louder than words. If I can get the recruiting figures for Merthyr week by week, which I find a very difficult job, I hope by another week to be able to PROVE that whereas our Rink Meeting gave a stimulus to recruiting, those meetings at the Drill Hall at which the Liberal member or the Liberal candidate spoke, had the exactly opposite effect." Hardie was so determined to prove his point that he tried on a number of occasions to obtain the relevant recruiting figures. The figures were refused him, but this did not daunt Hardie. In the meantime, his staunch supporter J.B. (John Barr), writing in the *Pioneer*, enthusiastically endorsed Hardie's claim; he wrote, "I am still of the opinion that the Rink meeting gave a filip to recruiting, and my opinion is based on the belief that the I.L.P. method is the right one. . . ."

Two weeks later Hardie was able to proclaim that he had obtained the recruiting figures for his constituency and was able to make good his boast. He set out his claim in this manner: "(1) That for the five weeks before the Rink Meeting, recruiting had been steadily going down week by week; (2) that our I.L.P. meeting was held on Sunday, October 25th, and that for the next three weeks the number of recruits secured in Merthyr kept steadily rising. . . . If Mr. Jones challenges this statement I shall produce the figures, though not inclined to do so for very obvious patriotic reasons. Unlike my colleague I am more concerned with aiding the army than with trying to take a mean advantage of a political opponent" (*Pioneer*, 19th Dec., 1914).

Ample evidence exists to prove that in supporting the War Hardie in no way acted as a renegade. His actions were in fact in concord with the actions of his colleagues in the party leadership and these actions were never repudiated, but were endorsed and underwritten by the party as a whole.

MELVIN HARRIS

- ★ MURDERS
- ★ FLEET STREET
- ★ CRIME
- ★ PORTUGAL

Death Penalty

DURING the eight weeks up to the end of January of this year, more than fifty murders were known to have been committed in England and Wales. This is pretty well double the rate at which they were occurring before the Homicide Act of 1957 relaxed the death penalty, although for various reasons it is impossible to draw strict comparisons.

Because some of the recent murders were connected with sexual assaults upon very young girls, and others with robberies sometimes involving several thousands of pounds, the ghoulish press gave them the full treatment. There was a demand, inside and outside Parliament, for a stricter death penalty.

Some of this demand was doubtless based on a desire for revenge. This is a wholly emotional attitude, which disregards the fact that revenge is useless to the murdered victim. The other argument for the death penalty—that it is a unique deterrent to would-be murderers—is quite unsupported by evidence.

The debate on the best method of punishing murderers takes no account of the basic cause of their actions. To find that, we must examine our social organisation—the brutalising influence of poor living conditions, of periodic wars, the impossible personal relationships which poverty forces upon us.

The hanging fiends are just as far off the mark as the worried reformers. Neither group wants to alter society's basis; but that is the only effective method of tackling the murder problem.

Lies in Fleet Street

THE Mirror-Odhams deal was really big stuff—and it was accompanied by what can only be called some big stuff lies.

On 26th January, a press conference was given details of the proposed merger between Odhams Press and Thomson Newspapers. Sir Christopher Chancellor, Odhams' chairman, stated definitely that no bid had been made by the *Daily Mirror*. At the same time, a *Mirror* director issued a comprehensive denial that any bid had come from them.

We now know that the *Mirror* had, in fact, made known their intention to bid

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

for Odhams some days before the intended Odhams-Thomson merger was announced. This merger was actually designed as a defensive move against the might of the *Mirror's* financial resources.

Naturally, these misleading statements are justified by the companies involved, who argue that such "secrecy" is necessary to safeguard their commercial interests.

That may well be. But most of the day-to-day events of capitalist society on which the newspapers report and comment are also influenced by some sort of commercial interest.

What reason, therefore, have we to believe that newspaper reports on wars, strikes, crime and so on are any more accurate than the all-round denials of what turned out to be the *Mirror's* anxious interest in the future of Odhams?

Crime and Punishment

ON his release from Dartmoor Prison after serving a sentence of seven years' preventive detention, Christopher Patrick Sullivan stole two mailbags at King's Cross Station. As a punishment for this theft, Sullivan has gone back to Dartmoor, this time for ten years. It was Sullivan's eighth conviction. To the bigoted upholder of the sanctity of private property over broad human interests, justice will have been done. To the Socialist the sentence of ten years' preventive detention for stealing two mailbags is a savage and inhuman gesture of hopeless failure in present methods of "dealing" with social delinquency. And this after a century of reform.

In practice, the view that there is equality before the law is fallacious. The aim of the law and of the punishments that enforce it is mainly the protection of property, and most offences against the law concern property. As the ownership of most property and especially the means of life and the privileges that arise from this ownership are restricted to a relatively small social class, then the whole structure of law and punishments must be biased in favour of the interests of the privileged class that owns. The majority of those who are underprivileged, in the sense that they own very little, accept this situation. The re-

tribution of the law attempts to coerce into law-abiding conformity a minority of criminals. Socialists advocate the abolition of the private ownership of property which will lead to a situation where crime could not arise.

The notion that men commit crime as a result of a fundamental ill-will in their make-up must be dismissed. Crime must be understood in relation to the social context in which it happens. It is not that the malignancy of human nature creates anti-social human beings. The case of Sullivan is a tragedy and in its cruel sadness we all have a share.

"Democratic" Portugal

THE recent seizure of the *Santa Maria* by an armed group led by Captain Galvao, on the instructions of the exiled General Delgado, has focused attention on Portugal.

The Portuguese monarchy was overthrown in 1911, and after 15 years of political instability Dr. Salazar came to power. Amongst those who supported him were Captain Galvao and General Delgado. The regime in Portugal—Britain's "oldest ally"—is one of dictatorship, where only one political party is permitted and opposition is suppressed. The office of Prime Minister, held by Dr. Salazar, is the top job, with that of President merely the state figure-head. General Delgado stood for the Presidency in 1958, but was defeated, and in 1959 sought political asylum in Brazil. After this election, Dr. Salazar redrafted the Constitution so that in future the President would be chosen not by the voters, but by the hand-picked Parliament.

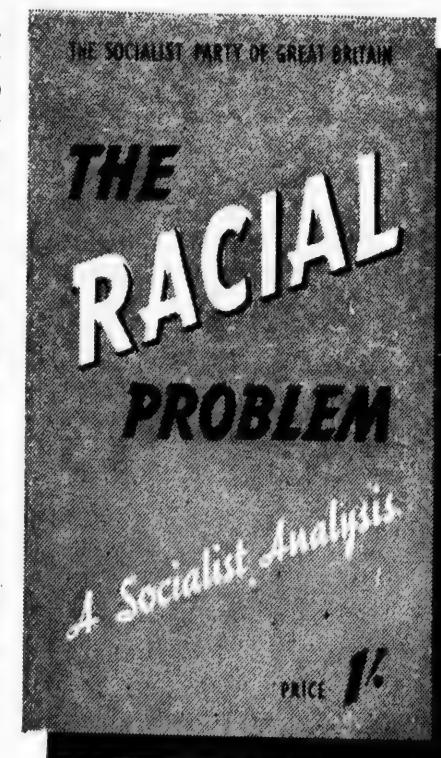
After the war, Captain Galvao was commissioned to report on the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique and his report was presented to the National Assembly in 1947. The report was suppressed and, shortly afterwards, Galvao was imprisoned. From the extracts of the report published in the *Observer* (29th January 1961) it is obvious that the Portuguese Government could not have been pleased with Galvao's disclosures. The report shows the terrible treatment of the Africans in these colonies—the forced labour from which "only the dead" were exempted;

the facade of medical care, behind which even minimum sanitary conditions did not exist; the very high infant mortality (60%) and the mortality rates amongst workers, 40% not being rare.

General Delgado's avowed aims are first to oust Salazar. He says that he wants to lessen the economic gap between Portugal's tiny minority of wealthy families and her desperately poor working population, and to democratise the colonies; to have universal suffrage both in Portugal and the colonies and vastly to improve education. Portugal is the least industrialised country in Europe, and Delgado may well have been reflecting that it is essential to have an educated working class in order to develop industrially.

The Socialist sympathises with aspirations to political democracy, but there is no guarantee that Delgado's professed aims would be achieved if he succeeded to power in Portugal, nor is there any guarantee that in a private property society, democracy, once obtained, will remain in being. He may, like many political candidates, be only dangling a bunch of carrots in front of the donkey's nose, in order to obtain personal support. It is possible that Delgado is voicing the aspirations of a new stratum of Portuguese society, a capitalist class whose needs, namely an educated working class, are directly opposed to those of the entrenched, almost feudal aristocracy administered by Salazar.

Read



PUBLIC MEETING MAHATMA GHANDI HALL

41 Fitzroy Square, Tottenham Court Road, W.1 (near Warren Street Underground).
SUNDAY, 19th March, 7 p.m.
"CAPITALISM, UNO or SOCIALISM?"
Speakers: P. Bryant, E. Grant.

The Passing Show

If you have tears . . .

"ARE we being fair to the Kents?" demanded the *Sunday Express* on January 29th. The language is puzzling. You may have thought there was only one Kent, the county next to Sussex. So it ought to be explained that this is upper-class slang, with which the *Sunday Express* fills its columns in order to edify the snobs who read it, those white collar workers who like to pretend that they aren't workers at all, but really "middle" class or even upper class. The "Kents", in this upper-class slang, apparently means the Duchess of Kent

and her children. The *Express* revealed that they had had no regular income from the Civil List since 1942, when the former Duke of Kent was killed.

It is true that King George VI and Queen Mary made payments to the Duchess out of their "private" fortunes. It is true that £25,000 a year is available out of the Civil List towards meeting "the unavoidable expenses of those members of the Royal Family for whom no financial provision is otherwise made." It is true that "it is probable" (says the *Express*) that the present Duke of Kent "has now begun to draw on some of the money left him in trust by his father". It is true that both the Duke of Kent and Princess Alexandra appear from the papers to be able to afford fairly expensive visits to night-clubs and long winter-sports holidays. But that isn't the whole story, wails the *Express*. The Duchess has been sending many valuable objets d'art to Sotheby's lately—"silver and gold cigarette boxes, clocks, photograph frames, bell pushes" and so on, plus "a canteen of silver, with 222 pieces of silver bearing the royal cipher". (The last item alone, it may be said in passing, would fetch enough to keep any working-class family in opulence for years.) This isn't supposed to show that the Duchess is rich: it is presented as evidence that she is poor. For, demands the article, "would she have sold all these articles if she had been free from financial cares?"

More heart-breaking details follow. Besides the family's country house in Buckinghamshire, they have a rent-free set of rooms at Kensington Palace. And the Duchess finds it difficult to keep a full staff of servants at both places. "With no cook" (at Kensington) "to prepare hot meals, it often happens that the Duchess brings up to town food which has been cooked at her country home. And it has been known for the family, when in London, to live on cold meals for a week at a time." Working-class families, of course, have to cook for themselves.

This is a question for debate among those who support the capitalist system. Royal figureheads do a public relations job for the ruling class, and the ruling class pays them accordingly. They must decide how much. But Socialism would solve this problem. For when there is no ruling class, there will be no need to have a public relations staff for them.

Too few hands

THAT wasn't the end of the worries of the *Sunday Express*. On the same day, same page, there was an article pointing out the dangers of either King (of the *Daily Mirror* group) or Thomson (who rules a large newspaper and television network) getting control of Odhams. If Thomson were to win, for example, it pointed out that he would control 17 daily papers, three Sundays, 25 weeklies, 46 periodicals, 62 trade and technical journals, plus Scottish television. In that event, ran the article, "he can decide, if he so desires, just what millions of people are to know, and what they are not to know; what they are to think and why they are to think it". If King wins this battle he will control an even larger empire, so the danger is proportionately greater. Clearly the Beaverbrook papers are worried that such giants might threaten the profits even of the *Express* group.

The situation the *Express* claims to fear, where a newspaper owner "might be tempted to stem the free flow of news or threaten full freedom of expression", has, of course, existed for years. Only very wealthy men, multi-millionaires, can now run national newspapers. And naturally multi-millionaires are not going to allow "full freedom of expression" to Socialists, who want a new society which would abolish their power. Already the Press Lords decide "what millions of people are to know, and what they are not to know; what they are to think and why they are to think it." It will become the *Express* group to grumble at this situation only when they think they might not benefit from it to the extent they previously did.

Back-to-work service

WHY was the National Health Scheme introduced after the war? Why has it been maintained ever since, with modifications only in detail, by both parties which have formed Governments?

A recent drug advertisement in *The Observer* gives us some help with the answer. It quotes an article in the *British Medical Journal* to the effect that "loss of man hours due to sickness is 75 times greater than that from industrial disputes". We all know what the capitalists think of strikes. Their propaganda organs attack them regularly and

ferociously. And if absence from work due to strikes affects the ruling class so badly, what must they feel about something that costs the employers seventy-five times as many lost man hours?

Was the Health Service a success? Did the capitalists obtain from it what they anticipated? The advertisement again gives the answer: "latest available figures show that in terms of days lost per person from work there was a decrease of 33 per cent between 1945 and

1955". No wonder the Conservative Party, the avowed supporters of capitalism, still operate the Health Service after ten years in power.

Notice the terms used in these quotes. There is nothing about health or illness in the general sense. The talk is of "man hours lost in industry", of "days lost per person from work". In other words, as Socialists have contended for so long, the service is not a Health Service, but a Back-to-work Service.

A. W. E.

Ford in Deep Water

QUESTION: Which was the fattest cheque ever made out?

ANSWER: The draft for 119 million-odd pounds paid by the Ford Motor Company of Detroit to buy out the minority shareholders of Ford in the United Kingdom.

Now this is quite appropriate, because the very thing which is suggested by the name Ford is size. The group as a whole makes about one-fifth of the world's motor cars and has factories in many countries. Biggest of the babies is Ford in England, which started in 1908 with a sales office in the West End and now employs over £100 million worth of fixed capital and other assets and more than 40,000 workers in plant capable of producing almost half a million vehicles a year. In 1959, the company's sales ran to £233,180,000. It owns an enormous factory at Dagenham, as well as the Kelsey Hayes Wheel Plant and Briggs Motor Bodies, both of which were once independent firms supplying Ford with components. It has its own foundry—said to be the most modern in Europe—turning out cylinder blocks and heads and other castings. Fords are currently hatching an expansion programme, involving a £70 million factory at Halewood, on Merseyside.

All of this adds up to the fact that Ford is strongly placed in relation to the other motor industry giants: a little behind the British Motor Corporation, which turned out nearly 670,000 vehicles in 1959, but ahead of Vauxhalls, with their 1959 production of a quarter of a million units. These output figures were reached when the motor industry in this country was at an all time high. Since then, slump has set in. How have Ford, which did so well in the fat years, been getting by in the thin?

The company's report for 1959 was

full of high spirits and optimism, with regret expressed only to the customers who, clamouring for new cars, had to wait their turn in the queue. This will be, said the report, "... a decade of opportunity for the motor industry." Up to the end of last year, nobody at Fords had been put on short time and nobody had been sacked, although by then the clouds had started to gather over Dagenham. The report for the first half of 1960 carried warning words about strong competition in America and the expectation of lower profits in the future. In January of this year, Fords announced that more than 16,000 of their workers would shortly start working a three day week. A spokesman forecast, "... a thin market and the outlook is not good at the moment." The lovely new machinery, some of it installed in the post-war expansion scheme, was soon working at only half capacity. Fords are not in trouble on their own. B.M.C. have about forty thousand on short time, Vauxhall nine thousand, Standard-Triumph about seven thousand. And this is not the end of the sorry tale. The motor car recession has struck all sorts of firms, large and small, (although after the mergers of recent years there are very few small firms left), as well as the makers of components and accessories.

This means hard times for the motor car workers. Their trade unions have reported that some of them have suffered wage cuts which leave them earning ten, nine, or eight pounds a week. At the moment, a brave front is being put on it. The government spokesman in the recent House of Commons debate stressed that only seven thousand of the industry's workers were actually redundant (a polite word for "sacked") and mused upon the possibility of a skilled or semi-skilled worker on a three or four day week in the car industry being better off

than men who are putting in a full week in other industries. This argument would not survive a prolonged slump in the car world; in any case, it is poor consolation to the short-timers that, however bad their conditions may be, there are others who are in worse straits.

What is behind the car slump? At the time of the great Ford takeover, we heard a lot of false theories about the motives for industrial investment. Many people thought that the American company was taking over with the intention of deliberately allowing Ford in England to decline. Much nearer to the mark were the opinions typified by *The Economist*, which thought that, "Any illusions that completion of American ownership might lead to 'running down' of the British operation that would make the lot of its competitors easier inside Britain must be dismissed," and *The Guardian*, which said "... the money is being invested here in the hope of a profitable return." These opinions are the sounder because they take account of the fact that the realisation of a profit is the motive of capitalist production, and at the same time is the end to which commodity distribution is organised. Here is the reason for the ceaseless search for easy markets. (There is some evidence that the Ford takeover was connected with the parent company's desire to exploit more efficiently the West European market, which for cars is now expanding more rapidly than in North America. Perhaps Ford want their Cologne factory to work the European Common Market and Dagenham the European Free Trade Area. But United States law forbids such cartel arrangements as this unless they are with wholly owned subsidiaries abroad, as Ford in Germany is but Ford in England was not.) Here, too, is the reason for the plans for expansion—and for the slumps which occur when, for example, rising stocks become a threat to profitable sales.

This is something over which the administrators of capitalism have no control. Many large companies, includ-

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 p.m.

East Street, Walworth

March 5th (1 p.m.)

March 12th & 26th (noon)

March 19th (11am)

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 p.m.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 Issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose ☐ s ☐ d

Name

Address

ing some in the motor car industry, have done their best to overcome the problem. They have spent a lot of money on market research, on advertising and on planning their production. But in the end, the essential anarchy of capitalist society beats them to it. When a market opens up, each interested firm *must* do its best to capture it, which means gearing its production to a high rate and often investing millions of pounds in development schemes. Ford, as we have seen, is sinking £70 million in new plant on Merseyside. This may click with a favourable market. On the other hand, it could sometime make Ford more vulnerable to the ravages of a recession. For there is no guarantee that, by the time the products reach the market, the demand for them will still be there. This has happened in the car industry. Ford, and the rest, put on full steam during the sunny days of 1958/9. Then, even though they foresaw that storms were ahead, they were quite powerless to avoid them. Mr. Reginald Maudling, the President of the Board of Trade, put it rather neatly in the House of Commons debate on the car depression. "We cannot," he said, "plan or determine a steady rate of growth in sales."

The record of the car industry offers plenty of proof of the validity of Mr. Maudling's words. Proof, also, of the falsity of the assurances of the smug economists who were so fond of telling us that the days of boom and slump were over. For in 1956, the industry was in slump, which it had climbed out of by 1959. In 1960, slump again. Perhaps, in a few years' time, cars will be booming once more. This is typical of capitalist industry, with the built-in compulsion to join in the trade war which dominates its every move. Martin Lindsay, the Conservative member for Solihull, had something to say on this, when the House of Commons were debating the Ford takeover: "I do not believe that there are friends and allies when it comes to a desperate trade war." Perhaps Mr. Lindsay would not accept that capitalism must, therefore, make enemies of us all. But that, in fact, is what it does.

For it is the capitalist basis of society which is the sand in our gearbox. Fords are an example of a complex, sophisticated industrial unit, parts of which are evidence of humanity's ability to create abundance for itself. But capitalism sends it on its way shuddering and wobbling, just like a stalling car. Time to get out and have a look at the engine?

IVAN

Finance & Industry

DISTRESS IN THE U.S.A.

THERE is no one in so much of a hurry as an Opposition politician demanding opportunity to clean up the mess made by an outgoing government—until he gets in, then the plea is for more time. The slump in Canada, the growing depression in U.S.A. and the troubles of the motor industry in Britain and most other countries will give plenty of scope for this kind of evasion by delay. The form it will take will be the demand for more information, the setting up of committees of inquiry, urging employers to be more enterprising and workers to work harder and strike less.

Nearly everyone concerned behaves and talks as if the overproduction of cars and the unemployment of car workers is something strange and surprising, something never before seen by mortal eye, yet in its essentials it is exactly what has happened before in that and every other industry at intervals for a century and a half.

From America a correspondent of the *Financial Times* (13/2/61) reports towns such as Welch, West Virginia "where 28 per cent of the labour force lacks work" and in which unemployment has been continuous for several years. In the area named it is due to the decline of the coal industry but not all of the "distressed areas" owe their troubles to the growth of rival fuels.

It reads like the years of misery between the wars to note the American government introducing a Bill to provide large sums of money to help depressed area development, and to read further that "there are widespread doubts whether its proposals, any more than the past efforts of the districts involved, can meet the problem".

Mr. Kennedy has set himself the formidable task of promoting an expansion much more impressive than that which followed either the 1953-54 or the 1957-58 recessions. It will otherwise be impossible to absorb today's unemployed plus new additions to the labour force and workers displaced by the onward march of automation. But even if more of their unemployed find work elsewhere and the Douglas Bill produces some new industry, the depressed areas will inevitably lag far behind the rest of the economy. The long-term answer may lie in the massive development of a whole region pioneered by the Tennessee Valley Authority, but Mr. Kennedy, with enough economic

problems on his plate already, will doubtless wait before plunging into new projects on this scale.

Labour Saving Machines

BECAUSE some machinery does reduce the total amount of labour required to produce an article, or does get rid of particularly hard or unpleasant work, the fiction is often asserted and believed that these are the purposes for which new machines and new processes are introduced.

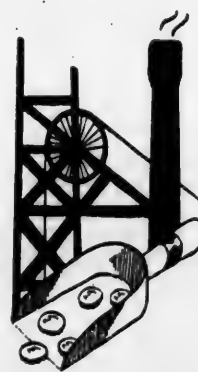
In fact the manufacturer is interested in making more profit by reducing costs, and to achieve it he will pay little regard to the convenience of the worker and will be prepared to waste labour if that suits his end.

How little the convenience of the worker counts is shown by the extent to which the use of more expensive machinery and plant in recent years has led to an increase of night and shift work regardless of its effects on health, for the employers' interest is to avoid having costly machinery standing idle for two-thirds of the 24 hours. Mr. Charles Timaeus, in *Reynolds News* (12 Feb. 1961) had this to say:—

I quoted recently from an OEEC investigation into the bad effect on health of shift work. Now comes a second survey—from the Max Planck Institute for Industrial Hygiene in West Germany. It shows that something like two thirds of workers on alternate shift working suffer from disturbed sleep, disturbed family life, unstable moods and disturbed appetite, half from increased blood pressure; one-third from stomach troubles, a quarter from heartburn.

Percentages for those on permanent night-shift, whose rhythm of life is less disturbed, are generally slightly lower, except for stomach trouble which affects half.

As regards labour saving, industry in all countries gives innumerable examples of work being carried on by methods which take up much labour in spite of the existence of machines and processes by the use of which labour could be saved. Marx noted this a century ago and it is still to be observed. He remarked on the seemingly inexplicable happening that labour-saving machines would be produced in one country and not used there but sold in other countries. The explanation was and is that



the employer is not interested in the amount of labour he uses but in the cost of the labour-power he pays for, remembering of course that in buying the workers' mental and physical energies at their value he is obtaining some unpaid labour. If wages in a particular locality or industry are depressed below value it pays the employer to use much cheap labour rather than install improved machinery which will use less labour but at greater cost.

It is only when wages rise to, or above, the value of labour-power that the employer will find it pays to "save labour". As a writer in *City Press* (3 Feb. 1961) puts it when explaining how "high wages" have caused a boom in the industry producing vehicles and equipment for the mechanical handling of materials, "this is the age of mechanisation in industry, of recognition that in his new found prosperity, the working man is a valuable property to be used with the utmost economy". (Italics ours.)

Of course if wages began to fall under pressure of unemployment the worker would no longer be "valuable property" to the employer and the latter's interest in labour-saving would diminish.

Among other actual happenings under capitalism is that when rival manufacturers are racing to be first to flood a particular market, speed becomes more important than cost and it may pay one of them to use a faster but more costly method of production if it enables him to have his commodity first in the field.

Marx dealt with machinery and labour-saving in *Capital* Vol. I Chapter XV, (see particularly Section 2) and remarked incidentally on the very different scope for the use of machinery there would be under Socialism than under Capitalism.

American Fears

INTERNATIONAL politics can never for long present a simple choice of issues for governments. To start with, each government is likely to have behind it

rival interests each wanting its own line to be followed. Then as soon as one problem is settled others emerge which may require that the ancient friends shall become enemies and enemies become friends. Added to which, alliances are formed because of the greater strength that comes from unity—but no country wants any one of its allies to become too strong. All of which leads up to the new line that seems to be emerging in U.S.A.—European relationships.

After the war it was the American government that took the lead in trying to get Europe to unite so as to form an economic and military group strong enough to stand up to Russia. Europeans were invited to consider the absurdity of European frontiers and customs barriers and to note what strength would come from a single European market in which large blocks of capital would have room to operate efficiently.

But now that the European Economic Community is a fact for the six countries France, Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, some American interests are becoming as worried about European trade competition as are some British industries which see their continental sales in danger. The City Editor of the *Sunday Times* (12/2/61) has detected that America's new President while closely following the lines of a report that he made use of in preparing his statement to Congress on economic policy, omitted one passage which read:—

"It is particularly important to try to prevent the 'Common Market' concept, now taking form among various countries, from becoming a focus of trade discrimination unfavourable to us."

The City Editor does not doubt that Kennedy shares the report's apprehension and omitted it only because it might give offence.

Of course the problems presented by this single European market can be lessened for U.S.A. and British capitalists by operating inside the customs wall, but this means a double investment of capital.

A "Communist" solution

THE *Daily Worker* (30/1/61) published an interview with Mr. Dick Etheridge, chairman of British Motor Corporation Joint Shop Stewards Committee, who organised a deputation to M.P.'s at Westminster, and is a member of the Communist Party. His remedy is to export more cars and commercial vehicles

to Africa, India, China, the Soviet Union "and other Socialist countries". His idea of what constitutes Socialism is indicated by the further remark that "even if we achieved Socialism tomorrow we'd still have to sell some of our current passenger-car production to those countries, and they'd want to buy it if we made it easy enough for them to do so".

The interview did not mention that Russia is itself an exporter of cars and commercial vehicles but did indicate the way in which Mr. Etheridge thinks Russia and other countries could be induced to import British cars, i.e. that the British government "must advance big credits to them so that they can buy our goods".

Perhaps if the Russian government were to "advance big credits" to unemployed British motor workers they would buy some Russian cars too.

H.

FRED EVANS

and

ALEX PATERSON

We regret to inform our readers of the death of two old members of our companion Parties; Fred Evans of Los Angeles and Alex Paterson of Winnipeg.

Fred Evans died in harness. He had just delivered the Western Socialist to a news stand in Los Angeles when he collapsed and died of a heart attack. He was a tower of strength to the W.S.P. on the West Coast; an indefatigable speaker and propagandist. He visited England a few years ago and spoke on our platform in Hyde Park. He also gave considerable assistance and hospitality to two of our comrades who visited Los Angeles during speaking tours recently. He will be sadly missed by our companion Party, which already suffered a serious loss through the death of Gordon Coffin, one of the founders of the W.S.P., a few months ago.

Alex Paterson was one of the oldest Canadian subscribers to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*. Over the years he gave a great deal of financial help to the S.P. of C. He visited England thirty years ago and met some of our older members. He had been ill for many years and lost both his wife and daughter in the last few years.

A full account of these two old comrades will appear in the Western Socialist, but we wish to add our tribute in this brief note.



MARCH 1911

THE PRINTERS STRIKE FOR SHORTER HOURS

During the past few weeks the equanimity of London Printmaking has been disturbed by a strike of some magnitude on the question of hours. The men have taken action in support of a demand for a 48-hour week, and though at the time of writing the strike is not at an end, it looks very much as if the employees will succeed in obtaining the demand they put forward as a compromise: 50 hours immediately, and a future consideration of the 48 hours question.

In every quarrel between masters and men, we take up the position that, as between masters and men, the latter can never be wrong. But in the matter of their conduct of the fight, we have seldom found a British trade union in the right—and the present strike affords no welcome exception.

For, think! These men demanded a reduction of 4½ hours per week, and the limitations of their union are shown by their compromising, in the midst of a "winning fight," for a 2½ hours reduction. That is less than 5 per cent. of the week's hours. Those who know anything of the printing trade do not need to be told that this 5 per cent. reduction does not anything like counterbalance the increased output per head which has taken place in the decade or so that has slipped away since the last reduction of hours. The speeding-up and the development of machinery in all departments have been astounding, and new processes are discovered almost daily.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, March, 1911.

[A year after the strike was settled the Ministry of Labour reported that while 50 hours were recognised by the unions "it is known that 52½ hours or more are worked in many offices."]

The Physiocrats

Notes on Economic History (5)

ALTHOUGH the Mercantile system was abundantly criticised, it was a long time before opposition to it became formed into a new doctrine. Such a new system of economic thought arose in France, its chief advocate being François Quesnay. He gave his doctrine the name Physiocracy—the rule of nature.

François Quesnay (1694-1774) was the son of a lawyer. He graduated as a doctor of medicine and became a physician to Madame de Pompadour and Louis XVth. His principal writings are the *Economic Tables*, 1758, and *General Maxims*, 1758.

Quesnay's teaching is something more than economics; it appears to be part of a general philosophy. Setting out from the materialist notions of his time, he wanted to have social and moral phenomena regarded as being no less "natural" than physical phenomena; and the laws governing the former as well as the latter were to be seen as mechanical laws of nature.

The natural right of human beings in primitive society, he argued, was the right to property—that is the right to the free disposal of goods which the individual had made or appropriated by means of his own labour. When at a later stage, men, for the better safeguarding of their natural rights, entered into the social contract, it was essential that they should not lose the right each of them had to earn his own living. Bound up in this right is another natural right of the individual—the right to foster his own economic interest and to shape his own future as best suited to him. This following of self-interest, according to Quesnay, leads to the establishment of a "natural order" in the economic association of human beings.

This doctrine of self-interest was eventually erected by Quesnay into a finished system. He endeavoured to study the laws of the economic "natural order", which were to be deduced by reason from the general plan of nature. This doctrine of "natural order" is important to him for two reasons. First, inasmuch as the pursuit of self-interest is regarded as an idea of natural right, a system of economic individualism is for the first time established. Secondly, the persons who, in their economic life, act consistently because they are guided by

motives of self-interest, resemble atoms with fixed properties. The phenomena that result from their mutual contacts (in the market and elsewhere in society) are mechanically determined like those that result from the mutual contacts of the atoms. It follows, says Quesnay, that political economy, like the realm of material nature, is governed by natural laws.

To the question of what activity of the individual it is that regulates the economic machinery, and upon what foundation economic life depends. Quesnay answers—upon natural economic activities, namely agriculture. Agriculture is for him the source of all the wealth of the nation. Not money, trade, traffic and industry, but the tilling of the soil is the true source of public welfare. The former activities merely transform matter and move it from place to place; they are not creative. The agriculturist renders them possible by nourishing those who engage in them, and he supplies the raw material without which they cannot be undertaken. Commerce, industry and transport are to be considered as dependent upon agriculture.

The Physiocrats put the matter thus. The countryman gets hides, leather, and in the end his boots and other articles from his oxen; wood, and in the end his tools, from the trees on his farm; and so on. But, they said, to avoid the wasting of materials and energy, it is better that he should not himself undertake the work that transforms these basic materials, but should have it done for him by various specialists (the tanner, bootmaker, joiner, etc.) whom he must support out of his agricultural surpluses.

The only productive, the only creative labour is, therefore, labour on the land. It is true that work which transforms materials derived from land, or moves them from place to place, can enhance the value of these things, but the cost of the supplementary labour is really defrayed by the agriculturist, who must feed the workers who perform it. The increase in value thus produced is, therefore, according to the cost of the labour and is equal to the expense of maintaining the workers who do it. Such labour is once again covered and made good by labour on the land. The tanner, joiner, etc. who shape the raw material derived from land work merely earn their own keep in the form of wages; they make nothing new. All they do, says Quesnay,

is to "add" not to "create". The agriculturist's work is a work of creation; the industrial workers perform only a work of addition, of transformation, or of transport.

Thus the class of landworkers (consisting in those days chiefly of tenant farmers as contrasted with the landowning nobility) appear to Quesnay to be the only "productive" class. The land owners, on the other hand, form an "owning" or "distributive" class, while the industrialists and craftsmen comprise a "sterile" class.

These three classes are considered to be the "active" classes of the population, whilst the wage earners make up a fourth, a "passive" class, with no economic activity of its own.

Agriculture cannot continue to be prosperous, adds Quesnay, unless grain realises high prices, for only then can agriculture provide a large "net product" and thus become able to provide large incomes for the landowning class, the manufacturers, and the working class, and in this way diffuse general prosperity. It was essential, therefore,

to do away with all restriction upon the export of grain—Quesnay completely rejected the mercantilist theory of the balance of trade. The demand for free trade was an inevitable result of his views.

The Physiocratic system also gave a picture of the formation of value and of price. In certain connections Quesnay emphasized the nature of value as utility but with his doctrine of net product, value and price are derived from cost. In his view the transformative labour of industry added to goods only so much value as this labour itself consumed—only an amount of value therefore equivalent to its own cost. It follows from this that for Quesnay wages represent nothing other than the cost of replacement of the labour power that has been expended. Wages are merely the equivalent of subsistence.

R. A.

* Quesnay uses the term "Produit Net" as signifying the surplus of the raw produce of the earth left after defraying the cost of its production.

The Family Car

THIS is a sad and true story. A young man buys a second hand car and, eager to show it off, packs in his family and takes them for a spin. The car is old, that is obvious. What is not so apparent is that it is dangerous—lethal, in fact. The exhaust pipe, wired to the rear axle, is badly split. There are rust holes in the floor. Carbon monoxide seeps from the broken pipe, through the rotten floor and quietly kills the family's baby son.

A scandal, you say. The seller, or the buyer, or somebody, ought to be in gaol. But you're missing the point. That car was bought and sold at a time when workers in the British car industry are being sacked or put on short time because the owners of the industry cannot find sufficient markets for their goods. Why should a man buy an ancient concentrate of rust when thousands of shiny new models are being stockpiled, just waiting for owners? Simple answer: because he can't afford a new car: a safe car.

Then why doesn't he wait until he can, and use other methods of transport meanwhile? Perhaps housing difficulties have forced him to live out on one of the new estates, a long way from his workplace and relying on a poor public transport service. Perhaps he believed all the talk about the affluent society and

decided to get in on a little of it himself. Perhaps he simply fell for the advertising line that a car denotes status, gets you the job, the girl, the smiles of the passers by. Perhaps he knew that not to own a car now almost indicates that you are either fabulously wealthy and eccentric (all his mates know that he isn't), or that you are practically down and out.

Yes, you've missed the point. The profit making basis of capitalist society means that we must deliberately turn out inferior goods—like cars—because the vast majority of people can only afford something very much less than the best. The working class have to live with the second or third hand because their purchasing power is not sufficient for them to acquire the first class stuff.

Sadly, rather than face this fact, many workers take refuge in a life of putting on the style. And if the style demands a car, it sometimes does not matter that it is an old and dangerous one.

This is a typical result of our capitalist world. But we can do better than this. We can co-operate to produce things of the highest quality and workmanship—and have them freely available to all human beings. We can have a world in which we tackle prob-

(continued bottom next column)

ELECTION APPEAL FROM CANADA

The Victoria Local of the Socialist Party of Canada is putting forward a candidate in the Esquimalt-Saanich by election. They need funds in order to get the Socialist message over as powerfully as possible.

Any members or sympathisers in the Western area who can give their financial help should send their contributions earmarked "Election Campaign" to C. Luff, Victoria Local, Socialist Party of Canada, 2518, Empire St. Victoria, B.C.

CORRECTIONS

We must apologise for two printing errors which resulted in some sentences in the February SOCIALIST STANDARD reading rather strangely.

In the article *Sin on the Underground* this appeared:

A more subtle method of suppression, this, than of yore, when Catholics would reduce to human charcoal any burglar or peasant who had difficulty in grasping a Papal chemical formula about bread and wine turning into flesh and blood.

The word "burglar" should have read "burgher." In *Finance and Industry*, the piece headed *Capitalism*, 1961, said:

This seems ironical to the *Guardian* but only because they persist against all conscience in believing that Russia is not a great capitalist power, but something else.

The word "conscience" should have been "evidence." Again, our apologies.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

MITCHAM GROUP

The White Hart, Cricket Green
Mitcham, Thursday 16 March 8 pm

CAPITALISM—THE INSECURE SOCIETY

speaker: D. McCarthy

(continues from previous column)

lems like transport congestion in a humane fashion; a world which is not cluttered up with articles which do nothing to enhance our happiness and welfare.

Which was more precious—the dead child, or the rust-embellished heap of a car? Which do you choose—Socialism or Capitalism? In a way, the two questions are almost the same.

JACK LAW.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE EASTER 1961

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1

Friday March 31st 11am-1pm, 2-6pm

Saturday April 1st 2.30-6pm

Sunday April 2nd 11am-1pm, 2-6pm

SOCIAL & DANCE

Saturday April 1st, 7.30-11pm (Tickets 3/6)

Conference Rally, Sunday April 2nd, 7.30pm

SOCIALISM - THE NEW HORIZON

Speakers C. May, W. Wainwright

**Party News**

Two Winter Sunday evening meetings have finished the series until next Autumn—the theoretical lectures at Clerkenwell Road, and Head Office film lectures. The last of the films is being held on Sunday, March 12th. However, at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, W.1, a further meeting is being held on Sunday, March 19th, at 7.30 p.m., on *Capitalism, UNO or Socialism*. Speakers—Comrades P. Bryant and E. Grant. On Wednesday, April 19th, at 7 p.m., a Demonstration for Socialism meeting is being held at St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston Road, N.W.1. Both these meetings will be successful if all comrades support them in every possible way, bringing as many friends along as possible, being available to sell literature, and most of all arriving in good time. The St. Pancras Town Hall is large, comfortable and centrally situated—three additional factors which should encourage a good attendance.

OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA will be getting off to a good start in April and the more Comrades there are who support the meetings and sell literature, the sooner workers will hear about the case for Socialism.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND. For the first time a fraternal delegate, Comrade Gilmae, will be attending the Annual Conference of the S.P. of I. It is hoped to give details of the work done in our next issue. Good hard work is being done by the Comrades in Ireland and it is hoped that Gilmae's visit will encourage them greatly.

APRIL "SOCIALIST STANDARD". It is hoped to feature some articles on the American Civil War in the April issue. Already an article has been received from our Comrades in the W.S.P. Make sure of the April issue (and also for every following month) of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, obtainable from 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

P. H.

EALING LECTURE

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing 9, Broadway, 8 p.m.

Friday, March 3rd
FILM "LETTER TO A GEORGIA MOTHER"

Speaker: G. McClatchie.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 37 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.

FILMS AT HEAD OFFICE52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
Sundays, 7.30 p.m.

March 5th

"DUES AND THE UNION"

Speaker: Frank Simpkins.

March 12th

"ENTERPRISE"

Speaker: Michael.

March 19th 7.30 pm
MAHATMA GHANDI HALL
Fitzroy Square, W1

Capitalism, UNO or Socialism

Speakers: P. Bryant, E. Grant

GLASGOW MEETINGS.Room 2, Door G, St. Andrew's Hall,
Berkeley Street.

Sundays 7.30 p.m. (prompt)

March 5th

"THE SOCIALIST CASE"

Speakers: T. D'Arcy & R. Russell.

March 12th

"A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY"

Speaker: J. Higgins.

March 19th

**"WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE
RELIGION"**

Speaker: J. Craig

March 26th

"THE EICHMANN TRIAL"

Speaker: R. Reid.

PADDINGTON LECTURES"The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1
(corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.).
Wednesdays, 9 p.m.

March 1st

"JEHOVAH WITNESSES"

Speaker: Tom Law.

March 8th

"TRADE UNIONISM"

Speaker: C. May.

HACKNEY LECTUREBethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge
Heath Road, E.2.

Wednesday, 8th March, 8 p.m.

**"PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF
MARXISM"**

Speaker: S. Goldstein.

*Public Meeting***DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM****ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL** EUSTON ROAD, NW1*Wednesday 19th April 7 pm*

DEMONSTRATE
FOR SOCIALISM
see back page

SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Socialist Party rejects Capitalism with its wars, and works to establish a Socialist world of common ownership and social equality. This is a task worth demonstrating for. Let us demonstrate for Socialism.

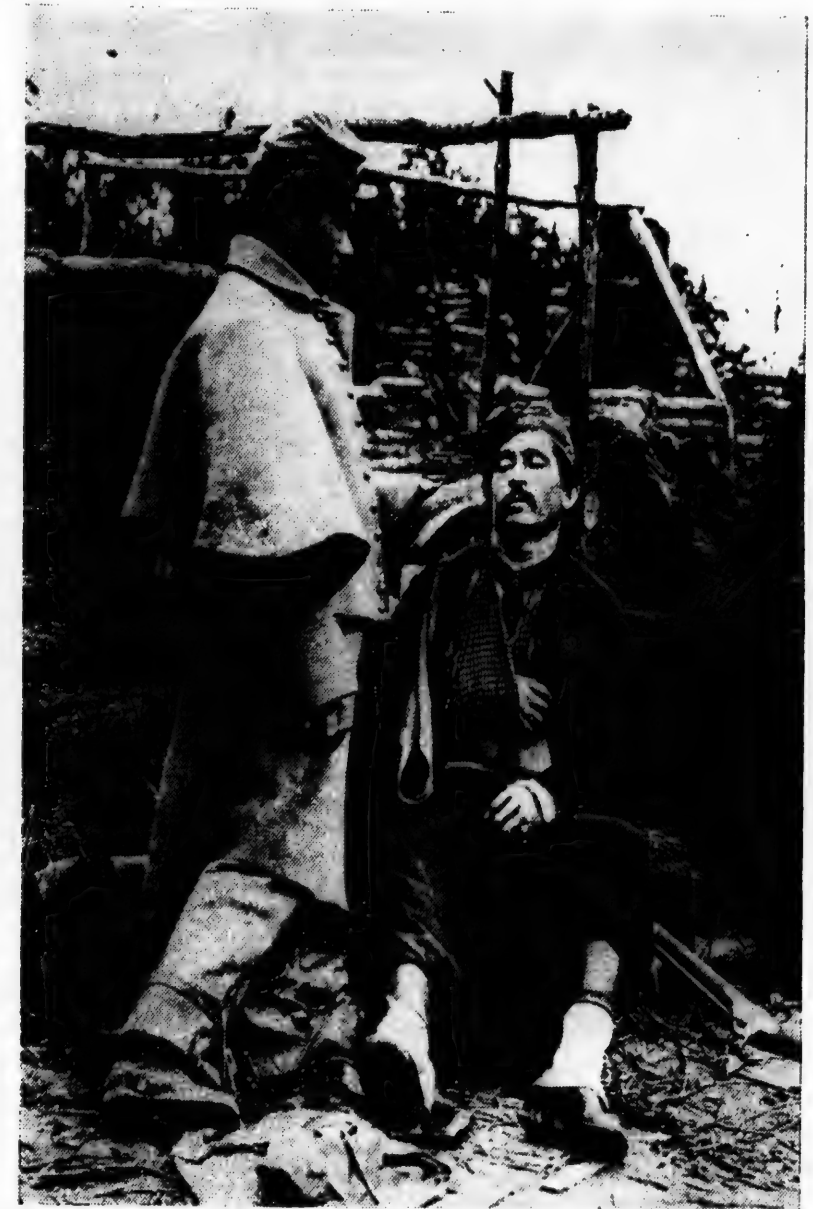


Photo: American Civil War (1861-5)

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

The Shadow over our Lives

The Congo

Common Ownership

Rents and Prices

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

see page 52

APRIL 1961 6^p JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether allied labour or avowedly capitalist and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th April) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th April at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 21st April at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottisingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCELES 2nd Monday (10th April) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (12th & 26th April) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulhern, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (10th & 24th April) 8 pm, Patrickburgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24690.

CHELTHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (6th & 20th March) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gardens, S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (12th & 24th April) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner: Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbrooke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (10th & 24th April) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd & 17th April) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Buynhill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W12.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th & 27th April) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th & 28th April) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: P. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breaker, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 20th April 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

April 1961 Vol 57 No 680

CONTENTS

- 52 The War Between the States
- 54 The Passing Show
- 55 Mankind under Capitalism
- 56 Under the Hammer
- 57 Finance and Industry
Rents and Prices
American Depression
The Slum Problem
Innocence of Journalists
What Next?
- 58 The Physiocratic School
- 59 The Congo
- 60 What is common-ownership?
- 61 Bill
- 62 The Lot of the Miner
- 63 T.U.C. and the Budget
- 64 Branch News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811)

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

The Shadow over our Lives

It is not to satisfy historical curiosity that we publish in this issue of the *Socialist Standard* an article which marks the centenary of the outbreak of the American Civil War. The strategy of attrition of that war, and the way in which it organised the resources and population of the Union into an all-out effort, was a foretaste of the two great wars of the twentieth century. It is hardly too much to say that modern warfare is one hundred years old this month.

Can we say that the bloodshed and misery have been worthwhile? That the world has been improved by the sacrifices which the working class have made during the wars? The bitter fact is that the world is no safer for peace today than it was in 1861. War, actual or potential, is as much a part of our lives as any other aspect of modern society. Although we are at present living in a period of peace, we know that all over the world national powers, great and small, have their bases and their forces in readiness for a future conflict. In Holy Loch, *Proteus* tends to her missile-carrying submarines. The Soviet Union has developed accurate intercontinental missiles of fearful destructive power.

By any standards of sanity, it is incredible that a society which possesses such enormous productive potential should devote so much of its effort to making weapons of destruction. Should we, then, join the campaign to persuade the government to renounce nuclear weapons? That would be to approach the problem

from the wrong end. Weapons are not produced to satisfy a government's destructive impulses. They are produced to prosecute the armed conflicts which in turn are caused by the economic rivalries of capitalism. All of these are inseparable. What it amounts to is that weapons of war are an inevitable product of capitalist society. Those who support capitalism, yet wish that its governments would voluntarily deprive themselves of the most powerful weapons available, are baying for something even more remote than the moon.

Into this category fall the unilateralists, the pacifists and some members of the Labour and similar parties. Some of these accuse the Socialist Party of turning our backs on capitalism's day to day troubles. It is true that we refuse to be sidetracked from our purpose of Socialist propaganda in order to advocate some reform of capitalism, although during our fifty-odd years of existence we have heard many appeals to do so. Unemployment. Nazi Germany, nuclear weapons—these are only some of the issues upon which we have been urged to concentrate our efforts at the expense of our Socialist integrity.

We have rejected these appeals because we know that such problems find their roots in capitalism's property basis. To end them, we must establish a Socialist society in which the world's wealth is owned by the world. Such an objective is the only thing worth demonstrating for.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

100 years ago this month the American civil war began with the bombardment by the Confederate forces of the South of the Government held Fort Sumter. By the time it ended, four years later, it is estimated that out of a population of 31,000,000, between 750,000 and 1,000,000 men lost their lives, and many more wounded. The devastation was enormous. In many ways, it was the fore-runner of the total warfare we know today.

THE revival of interest in the American Civil War is a phenomenon of the last decade. Chicago boasts of a successful book store where only Civil War items can be bought. Every week sees at least two new books on the War. What prompts this sustained interest is anybody's guess. Is it, perhaps, a search for a tranquilizer that will narcotize America to the many setbacks of recent years?

The Socialist searching through the mountain of Civil War books, is hard put to apply his yardstick of historical materialism. What seems to occupy the attention of the various authors, for the most part, is the spectacular bravery and dauntless courage displayed by Union warriors and Rebels alike. The social forces underlying the conflict, with the exception of the Slavery issue, are buried in a mass of drum and thunder history. It is easy for the casual reader to be left with the thought that the North was engaged in a crusade to wipe out slavery while the South was imbued with the "noble" ideal of saving it through secession. While this might have been typical of the average ideology of the War, it was certainly not a basic force in its origin.

If the abolition of slavery was an all-important issue to the North, then why were Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison mobbed in Boston, the centre of abolitionist ferment? Why was Lovejoy lynched in Illinois? Why was Douglass, friendly to the South and its institutions, elected to the Senate by the same State that started Lincoln on his road to fame?

Then too, the idea of opposition to slavery on moral grounds becomes ridiculous when one regards the low moral conscience of Northern industrialism. There was no revulsion at the horrible mills and mines where men, women and children toiled long hours for a pittance; at the miserable slums, unfit for human habitation in all the

cities and towns; at the periodic crises which threw the workers on the streets to starve; at the universal blacklist for those who spoke of unionization.

Certainly it was not opposition to slavery on moral grounds that prompted Massachusetts, in the early 18th century, to abolish it. John Adams wrote: "that the real cause was the multiplication of labouring white people who would not suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury." And the fact was that a committee appointed by the Massachusetts Council in 1706, recommended the abolition of slavery because "white servants were cheaper and more profitable than black slaves." Nor were Lincoln and his party, a century and a half later, concerned with the morals of slavery. In fact, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued as a war measure against the Rebels and did not apply to those slave States loyal to the Union. The Republican Party made quite plain the fact that it was not opposed to the continuance of slavery in the South provided that it was not spread into the frontier areas in which the Northern industrialists wished to establish their own slave system—wage labour.

Chattel slave labour has to fill certain requirements in order to be a practical substitute for "free" wage-labour: (a) it must be cheaper; (b) there must be a climate which permits the use of cheap, coarse and scanty clothing; (c) the product worked must require little, if any, skilled labour; (d) there must be no complex machinery; (e) there must be an unlimited supply of new and fertile land that can be brought into cultivation as the old land becomes exhausted; (f) a one crop system is desirable; and (g) employment must be steady because chattel slaves must be supported continuously.

Obviously, the conditions for this type of labour did not exist in the North, whereas in the South, the cultivation and ginning of cotton for nine months of the year filled the bill. There were, however,

serious contradictions which prevented the peaceful co-existence of the Southern and Northern economic systems, and which caused the Southern system to disintegrate prior to 1860.

The American South, despite its slave labour, was basically a commodity society in which goods (including slaves) and services were produced for sale on the market with a view to profit. A more fitting designation for the system is *Plantation Capitalism*. Certainly the South fought to maintain the chattel status of its Negroes, but mainly because this type of labour was vital to its economy and because its very system was falling apart largely as a result of Congressional laws which favoured Northern interests and which helped make chattel slave labour too costly. The moral justification for slavery was naturally provided by the Southern churches for the benefit of their aristocratic "partners."

It was largely because of the law against the importation of slaves and the consequent need of breeding these "vocal tools" that a field hand who in 1808 sold for 150 dollars, brought from two to four thousand dollars in 1860. The control of Congress by the North resulted in high tariffs on imported manufactured goods which interfered with the important trade of Southern raw cotton for English textiles. The development of Northern seaports and railways also brought about a loss of trade to the South from the Western agricultural regions—long ship hauls down the Mississippi to the Port of New Orleans became unnecessary. And the South, which desperately needed new land to replace that used up by their wasteful one-crop system, was losing out in its bid to bring in frontier areas as slave states.

As its losing economic war with the North and its internal contradictions progressed, the beneficiaries of the Southern plantation system became fewer, their holdings ever larger. In 1860,

only about one-half million of a population of 9 million Southern whites are reckoned to have made any profit from chattel slavery, of which a mere 10,000 were the actual ruling class. In this crumbling fabric of the South, the problem confronting the 10,000 was how to maintain dominance under universal white suffrage. Support came from the professional class and the clergy with their one or two personal slaves. Also from the poor, degraded "white trash" who squatted on the poorest land and fiercely defended the institution of chattel slavery which provided another economic group over whom they could vaunt their "superiority." As an added bonus, there was the lift to their spirits to be had by identifying themselves with the Southern aristocrats.

The elections of 1860 tore any

remnants of control of the national government from the hands of the Southern rulers. Secession became necessary. The plantation capitalists knew that their social system could never prosper with a government they could not control. They had no more need for the North, since their system was barred by soil and climate from expanding in that direction. With a government they could control, expansion to the south could proceed, in harmony with the grand visions of the Southern "Manifest Destinators." There was Mexico to be conquered, Central America, Cuba, and even the vast continent of South America—all offering vast areas of land for the smooth operation of their economy. Their backs were to the wall, they had nothing to lose, so they took the plunge and the hot war began.

The Armed Conflict

The South, as an oligarchy, was better prepared in 1861 to begin a war than the more industrialized, but highly disorganized North. Productive work falling on the Negroes, the Rebels could put their entire fighting strength into the field without disturbance, and they inflicted defeat after defeat upon the army of farmers, mechanics and sailors of the North. The united South was faced by a North, divided, and to a considerable extent dominated, by the border states which were loyal but which were certainly not in favour of Abolition. The North found it difficult to raise the 300,000 men requested by Lincoln. Conscription was introduced for the first time in American history but an escape clause which permitted a man to buy a substitute for \$300.00 enabled the rich to become legal dodgers and brought about riots in New York City against conscription.

But the outcome was inevitable. In the long run, despite the terrible initial defeats and despite the manipulations of such crafty patriots as J. P. Morgan who made a fortune by selling thousands of previously condemned rifles to the War Dept. with a profit of \$18.00 on each, the relatively highly developed North prevailed, and under such ruthless and capable generals as Sherman and Grant, swept away the last vestiges of chattel slave labour in America.

The socialists of the period, for the most part, actively interested themselves in the cause of the North. In England, the ruling class gave sympathy and support to the South. Karl Marx worked

within the International Workingmen's Association to rally the workers to the support of Lincoln. During the period of Northern reverses, the pioneer of scientific socialism held firm in his belief that the "North will make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border statesmen; that the defeats being suffered by the North were due to the conducting of the war on constitutional and diplomatic instead of revolutionary lines." He also pointed out "the failure to take cognizance of slavery as a military weapon . . . that the slaves should be declared free and that a single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves."

Whatever the validity of the motives which influenced the socialists of the period, they definitely gave their support to what they regarded as a progressive type of capitalism. Looking back, we can question some of their views and the emphasis they gave to the chattel slavery issue and show that their all-out support of Northern capitalism was unwarranted.

With peace, the youngsters who had fought in one of the bloodiest wars in history (more than half of the Union Army were under 19 years of age and more than 300,000 were between 15 and 16) went out in the world to resume or begin the task of earning a living. Many of them, having become quick with the gun, were shortly to dot the Boot Hills of the new towns and mining camps and to help write the blood history of the West.

Those who returned to the industries

found a new foe, warlike and pitiless, but in industrial rather than military warfare. These were the "captains" of industry—the Fricks, Carnegies, Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, Hills, Huntingtons, Flaglers and, of course, the redoubtable J. P. Morgan.

With the 70's came the business panics and the great strikes. In the Pennsylvania coal fields a bloody war raged with pistol and dynamite between the owners and the Molly Maguires (a secret society of rebellious workers). Alan Pinkerton, a spy of Lincoln's, now became the leading industrial spy and strike breaker in the land. By worming his way into the inner circle of the society, he was instrumental in bringing about the exposure of the Molly Maguires. Ten of their members were hanged and many more sent to prison, bringing to an inglorious end the careers of some of the former heroes of the Union Army. Many more of the veterans were to witness the same generals who had led them to "victory" now march upon them with their former brothers-in-arms, to shoot, kill and jail them. It was a rude awakening and was to teach them that the war was not fought for them, as they had thought, but to build an economic system that would enrich a handful.

SAM ORNER.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney, N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

The Passing Show

As such

THE two American RB-47 airmen who were released by Russia recently after being shot down over the Barents Sea gave their own stories to reporters at an American air force base. They said that they had returned the fire of Russian fighter planes. One of the reporters recalled that previous American reports of the incident had claimed that the aircraft was unarmed. The airmen replied:

The aircraft as such, was not armed with an offensive weapon of any sort. We carried two 20-millimetre automatic

cannon which were mounted aft, pointing to the rear. This was a defensive weapon purely to protect us from attack from the rear.

How automatic cannon, whether pointing up, down, forwards or sideways, can be anything else than offensive weapons was not made clear. And what exactly does "as such" mean in the first sentence? An aircraft carrying automatic cannon is armed as an aircraft, not as a submarine.

But merely to point out the absurdities of the airmen's statement would be to over-simplify the matter. For these airmen are only repeating what their masters, the American ruling class—along with every other ruling class—have always said. No country has a "Ministry of Attack". No country produces "Offence Estimates". No country, to judge from its own propaganda machine, ever attacks another. In all wars, each country simply defends itself against the others: the enemy is always the aggressor. And if the hydrogen bomb is claimed as a "defensive" weapon, who can blame the two airmen for claiming that their automatic cannon were not offensive?

Jomo Kenyatta

SIR PATRICK RENISON, the Governor of Kenya, recently refused to release Jomo Kenyatta and gave two reasons for his decision. They were:

The political campaign for Kenyatta's release, "which has roused many emotions and which has not allowed divisions and personal fears a natural atmosphere in which to diminish."

Kenyatta's refusal to "make any statement or reveal his thinking about the great issues which Kenya is facing," in spite of the fact that six Ministers, including three Africans, had visited him in August.

These reasons (given in the *Times*, 2-3-61) are remarkable. Leaving out the long words, the first one means simply that the Governor of Kenya isn't going to release Kenyatta because the Kenya Africans have made it plain that they want him to be released. The Governor can hardly expect anyone to believe that he would have released Kenyatta if there hadn't been a campaign demanding it.

The second reason is even more extraordinary. Dictators have often put

people in jail, or kept them in exile, because they have "made statements" or "revealed their thinking" about public issues; this must be the first time a political leader has been kept in exile because he refused to take up a political stand.

When thieves fall out

The Socialist position is straightforward. We are opposed to any attack on democratic freedoms, whether it is jailing for political reasons, restrictions on the right to vote, or any other weapon in the colonialists' armoury. But we are not blind to the real nature of the struggle in Kenya, it is the old struggle between land and capital. On the one side are in Kenya, it is the old struggle between capitalists, whether they are those who hope to establish full-scale industrial capitalism in Kenya, or those who have already established it in Great Britain. We welcome any extension of democracy in Kenya which this struggle between two rival propertied classes has produced or will produce. But we know that democracy is never safe in a capitalist society. That has been seen in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, in Czechoslovakia and the rest. Only in a Socialist society will democracy be safe from overthrow.

Out of my way

AN irate letter-writer in the *Sunday Express* recently told how he had parked his car beside a parking meter in accordance with the instructions on the meter, went to the theatre, and returned to find his car vanished.

Eventually, after very considerable frustration, annoyance, and expense, I found it at one of the police yards miles away. I was ordered to pay £2 to recover it—which I refused to do. The only explanation I could get from the police was that I had committed the offence of being on the royal route to the cinema—although how I was expected to know this is beyond my power of reasoning.

The removal of one's car, however, is only one of the minor inconveniences that may follow if one gets in the way of a royal progress. It could be much worse. In Katmandu, for the visit of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh to Nepal, a new road was built from the

airport to the royal guest house. It took 14,000 men over a month. It wasn't a question here of simply removing cars to make room for royalty: whole houses were bulldozed down. Even churches were not sacrosanct. "One temple was shifted 30 yards and worshippers one morning found the principal idol hanging on the end of a crane" (*The Observer*,

26-2-61). So much for the respect paid to religion when it conflicts with the convenience of the ruling class. Religion, of course, is maintained by ruling classes because it helps to keep the rest of us in our places. Perhaps it is naïve for us to expect a ruling class to take its own propaganda too seriously.

A. W. E.

Mankind under Capitalism

THE constant endeavour that has marked man's life since his biological emergence to human status should have created a world befitting the dignity of manhood. But man, sociologically, lags far behind his biological advance. He has learned to observe, and, to a large degree, understand surrounding phenomena; to connect causes and effect; to make and use tools; to harness natural forces to his own ends. But the latter part of humanity's history has seen the arrival of class-divided orders of society where those who rule seek to confine education to what will do no more than preserve the existing order of rulers and ruled. This obtains in the present day when we live in a capitalist society.

On the whole, therefore, man under capitalism has not learned to study the economic foundation of his world to probe into its shams and anomalies, to devote his mind to establishing a society no less advanced than his biological development. And so, with the acquiescence of nearly everyone, a social system which has long outlived its justification as a phase of social evolution, hangs on with its spoilation of personalities, its unnatural relationships and its sordid purpose.

Nothing so determines the character of man as his manner of securing his means of living. Of legitimate ways of securing these means under capitalism there are only two—the employment of each of which is dependant upon the social class to which each man belongs. If one belongs to the master class the obtaining of the means of life—not to mention, in many cases, the luxuries, the riches, and the accumulated wealth to be used for further investment—will be contrived by exploiting working-class labour power and by securing profit through the sale of the surplus values derived from it. This is the sole function of the capitalist—imposed on him by the circumstance that he is a capitalist.

By his very position in capitalist society, therefore, this person becomes a parasite, an exploiter. No matter if his inclination be one of kindness, his survival as a capitalist entails expropriation from his fellows. More, to remain a contending factor in the competition for markets he must offer the commodities produced by his workers at competitive prices. Wages must be kept as low as possible; output pushed to the highest reachable peak. He becomes the hard business man, a fevered participant in the capitalist rat-race, the ruthless strike-breaker. And, although as a man he may have repugnance towards the thought of war, as a capitalist he may quite well find justification in a conflict which has for its aim the preservation of markets and market accessories from the hands of foreign rivals, or even the capturing of further markets etc., for himself and his fellow capitalists.

This is the way in which the existing order forces the capitalist to behave. But he gets off lightly compared with the men and women of the working class. These are the people, overwhelmingly exceeding in numbers the members of the capitalist class, who daily are compelled, by the necessity of getting a living, to sell their energies to the capitalists. They range from factory managers—though such may like to claim inclusion in a mythical "middle class"—to general labourers; from chief buyers in gigantic emporiums to borough council road-sweepers; from conductors in theatre orchestras to bus conductors. But, however "posh", "respectable",

or "degrading" the means of their getting a living, each and every one of these workers cannot escape the drudgery with which capitalism tars them.

Nor is that all. The better-paid workers smug with a fancied superiority and an imagined exclusiveness from working-class dependence on wages, are nonetheless just as reliant as other workers on their salaries. Struggling to maintain the appearances expected of their "good position" they lead lives, very often, of gilded poverty. Their concept of their position in society is, in many cases, an empty delusion, for retreating the reality of their working-class status, they have embraced the fiction of their oneness with their masters.

And so it goes on. The foreman—once "one of the men", and perhaps happier as such—has accepted promotion because of his inability to manage on his former wages. Expected by his employers to prevent slacking and to raise or maintain output, he must now either boldly show himself as committed solely to the interests of production, the overseer with the whip, or, to preserve continued popularity among his former bench-fellows, he must resort to the under-handedness of maintaining a "still one of you" demeanour whilst carrying tales of non-co-operation to his masters. He becomes either the workshop tyrant, or the two-faced spying informer.

And what of the workers who are thus openly sweated or surreptitiously coerced? Is it their reluctance to work hard and continuously that makes foremen necessary? Possibly so, but can conscientiousness and industry be expected from those who, under nearly all circumstances, are compelled to work for wages that will buy very little more than the basic needs of life? Very often, for the sake of a "bigger shilling", they take a job that nauseates by its unhealthy conditions, its tediousness, or its lifeless repetition. And, although the cause may be unknown to the sufferers, it is frequently felt that for all the day-to-day striving they never reach a condition more comfortable than that of just getting by. Small wonder that conscientious work becomes a rarity, that spending the minimum of effort becomes the rule, that many workers are clock-

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The best introduction to the Socialist Party's case obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4 (1/3 post paid)

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

watchers looking forward only to knocking-off time.

Capitalism's destruction of ready endeavour is most widely observed among those who work closely and frequently in contact with the general public. Indifferent clerks behind post-office counters, curt or officially "nice" shop assistants, unashamed "behind-time" bus drivers and conductors—these are but a few of the human products of capitalist society. And ever commenting on the faults of these are the critics—mostly members of the working class themselves, and in all cases the creatures of capitalism. Not recognising that here is behaviour engendered by capitalist environment, they condemn what they call the basic nature of the offenders. These people, they complain, are utterly selfish. Instead of being helpful and courteous to the public they are disinterested and curt. "And then they have the nerve to want more money—if I had my way, they'd be given less".

The prize taunt, however, is that these people "want the money, but don't want to work". Ironically, this is true when one considers the universal compulsion upon the working class to go to work and in many cases perform the most nauseating of tasks in order to get the necessary wages to exist upon.

Of course it is nice to think of men doing well-loved work with happy heart, and with no thought of repayment. But it is an idea unrealisable within the present order of society. Of course, there are many of us who feel the revulsion against the indignities, the incongeniality and the oppressiveness of our occupations, and the reasons we keep at these occupations (and a proof of our wage-slavery) is because, 'to keep alive we

must have, and subsequently want, the money.

The salesman in whom smooth falsification has become so much a part that he cannot eradicate it from his behaviour outside business. The soldier deceived into believing that the training he receives is not to make him a killer, but to make him a man. The youngster who, in a world that takes the carnage of war for granted and, in the name of "defence", devises and uses the most diabolically destructive weapons, becomes somehow attracted to the violence of the age and experiences a thrill in embarking upon a little violence himself. All these are products of the capitalist world.

Sometimes the clash between the workings of capitalism and the ideals of mankind produces ideas which contrast with those promoted by ruling class propagandists. For instance the existence of oppression, anomalies, inequalities, cut-throat practices and preparation for wars that threaten to imperil the whole of mankind, brings into being the rebels against these ills. Most of those express themselves through political or humanitarian organisations which lack the sound sociological knowledge which alone can promote action that will eradicate the anti-socialist behaviour objected to. Thus these rebels remain, ardently protesting against the horror of nuclear war, pleading that votes for particular individuals might serve beneficent ends, but missing altogether and failing to deal with the real cause of the trouble.

But within the womb of capitalism, as of all social orders, is the seed of its own destruction. Not all rebels are Utopian idealists. There are some who have sought to understand the world

around them, and to base upon scientific fact their efforts towards a social reconstruction. We maintain that a sane, classless, warless, povertyless social order—Socialism—will remove the causes of anti-social behaviour.

F. W. H.

Under the Hammer

FEW towns are without their local auction rooms. The writer can well remember as a child standing in a bare room in a house in New Brunswick as the collection of shabby goods and chattels representing his parents' years of toil, quickly vanished "under the hammer". Later, we set sail for new horizons, also to find the same old wage slavery elsewhere.

But, such auctions of working class "property" never hit the headlines. Why should they? They have no sensational news value for journalists to scoop. They prefer such stories as the recent Franz Hals write-up—the *Cavalier* painting with the £182,000 touch. So—ignoring the "small fry" auctions—let us take a look at the "Big Boys". Messrs Christie, Manson and Woods, and Sotheby.

The 1958/1959 auction season turnover at Sotheby's was £5,756,742. In June 1959, the famous Rubens painting *Adoration of the Magi* from the late Duke of Westminster's collection, realised £275,000. The following day's sale saw bidding on the Westminster Diamond Tiara begin at £40,000 and close on the selling price of £110,000. Then early in December 1960, Messrs Sotheby's hammer descended with a shower of golden sparks (in the form of commission) on the £182,000 sale of the *Franz Hals*.

The 1959 turnover at Messrs Christies was £2,783,490. In June of that year a 23 carat diamond ring belonging to Mrs. Michael Wilding went for £56,000. A collection of porcelain belonging to the Marquess of Exeter, was sold in July for a total of £21,250, a 45 piece Swansea dessert service from the above collection, realizing 4,800 guineas. Again on November 6th a collection of paintings, 29 in all, including 15 by Constable belonging to the late Mr. H. L. Fison, fetched £85,900.

Christie's 1959/60 season turnover was £3,500,000, a substantial increase on

the previous year. A Matisse oil painting sold for £21,000, and a diamond and sapphire necklet belonging to the Earl of Harewood was knocked down for a mere £28,000. So here lies an opportunity for all those who "have never had it so good" to invest some of their surplus wages instead of frittering it away on the pools!

As Messrs Christie's have been providing opportunities since 1766, their records must show the handling of a sizeable proportion of the wealth of the ruling class. Amongst their "exclusive" clientele were Madame du Barry (1795), Queen Charlotte (1819), and the Empress Eugenie (1872). In 1927 they handled the Russian, and in 1931 the Bavarian, crown jewels.

So, as the vast majority of workers go about their daily routine in office, mine or factory, the habitués of Christie's tirelessly raise a finger or nod a head as the descending hammer of the auctioneer "raises the wind" for his "exclusive" clientele. One nod of the head at these sales can often equal 5 or 10 weeks' wages of a member of the working class. The assumption that those who collect, can afford to pay the piper, is never in doubt and runs through most of the sales literature of these firms. In *Christie's Review of the Year 1957* we read the following:—

The jewel sales continue to show that there is a constant demand for fine diamonds and coloured stones and that early Victoriana and, above all, samples

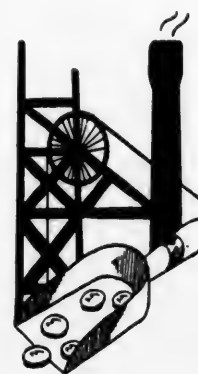
of 17th and 18th century jewellery are collected more than ever by those who appreciate design and craftsmanship as well as intrinsic values of stones.

But this does not apply to society as a whole, because of course there are many human beings who "appreciate design and craftsmanship" but certainly do not collect items from Christie's sales, simply because they could not even afford Christie's 10% commission.

Christie's literature is of course written for the "haves" in society. The vast majority, the "have-nots," require a world in which auction sales and all other commercial paraphernalia will be thrown overboard and the means of life made accessible for all.

G. R. RUSSELL.

Finance & Industry



RENTS AND THE PRICE INDEX

Of course many people will find that they spend far more than the assumed proportions on rent etc.; which would not of itself invalidate the Ministry's assumption because there are some rents etc. which represent a very much smaller percentage, and both extremes enter into the average. It was recently shown in an official publication that the average council house rent in Scotland is 9s 10d. a week (the lowest being Dumbarton, only 2s. 10d). Corresponding averages for say London would be about 35s. to 40s.

Nevertheless, with the rapid rise of housing costs in recent years it is probable that a larger proportion than the official 8.7 per cent of expenditure goes on rent, rates, water charges and repairs.

Yet despite the rapid rise in recent years the average increase of rents since 1938 has been far less than the percentage increase of food prices, clothing prices, or drink and tobacco.

American Depression

POLITICIANS and Economists giving their views on the course of trade and business prospects are curiously like doctors telling the relatives how the patient is fairing—probably for the same reason, that they are not sure.

If the doctor felt perfectly confident that his diagnosis is correct, and that he knows precisely what to do he would be able to say "I have administered the

remedy and by 9.30 a.m. exactly tomorrow morning the patient will start improving rapidly and will be out and about a week from today".

And if the governments and their economic advisers could make exact diagnoses and prescribe specific and certain remedies, they could be equally confident. But as it is, they are never quite sure whether things are getting better or worse. If they fear the worst it is best not to say so because something may turn up, and in any event spreading gloom may itself help on a downward slide.

So it is not surprising that the reassuring statements of last autumn have slowly given place to admissions that American industry is in a rather bad way.

Last September Mr. Per Jacobson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, at an interview in Washington was sure that the United States was not heading for a full-fledged recession, only a slackening in business activity, and on February 20, 1961 the *Financial Times* correspondent in New York could report, "U.S. business still optimistic. Belief that upturn is not far off". But only a week later the President's council of economic advisers was informing Congress that it would be unreasonable to expect recovery until after mid year and simultaneously the news of six million unemployed, the worst since before the war.

And the chairman of the council disclosed other reasons for not taking an

ANNUAL CONFERENCE EASTER 1961

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1

Friday March 31st 11am-1pm, 2-6pm

Saturday April 1st 2.30-6pm

Sunday April 2nd 11am-1pm, 2-6pm

SOCIAL & DANCE

Saturday April 1st, 7.30-11pm (Tickets 3/6)

Conference Rally, Sunday April 2nd, 7.30pm

SOCIALISM - THE NEW HORIZON

Speakers C. May, M. Harris

optimistic view. He pointed out that even when the upturn in business does take place it will not be the solution to the longer term problem of a growing gap between production and productive capacity.

Since 1955 the economy's "chronic slack"—a gap between what the country can produce and what it actually produces had shown a "distressing" upward trend. (*Guardian*, 7.3.61).

The Slum problem

THE American President is going to do something about the slums, and the *Times* correspondent in Washington, writes, with unintended humour; "That something has to be done and done quickly has for years been evident to those driving through slum areas to the trim suburbs". (*Times* 10/3/61).

What makes the *Times* correspondent think that because an evil has been obvious for years, that something has to be done about it quickly or at all? It is over a century since the British government and philanthropic agencies started to abolish the slums and they are still with us.

Anyway in America, according to President Kennedy there are "40 million families living in sub-standard houses", but at the same time "one out of every six construction workers is unemployed, and house building dropped by 18 per cent last year to the lowest level in the past decade".

Innocence of Journalists

If the *Times* correspondent in U.S.A. is naïve in supposing that capitalism and slums are incompatible, his *Daily Mail* colleague Mr. Don Iddon is worse; he writes like a true innocent abroad. In the issue for 10 March he tells of having been stopped by beggars on Broadway, "shabby men asking not for 'a dime for a cup of coffee', but for a quarter (about 1s. 9d.) for food". Because of this and other things Mr. Iddon says, "Kennedy's America is beginning to puzzle me". But why should he be puzzled because queues are lengthening at the employment exchanges, and the motor show rooms are almost deserted, or because 166,000 car workers are unemployed and there are a million brand-new unsold cars? Mr. Iddon has lived for quite a while and has had abundant

opportunities to get around and see things in different parts of the world so why should he be puzzled because America shows the same kind of happenings as other countries and other times?

Mr. Iddon tells how stock exchange speculators can make fortunes with a few telephone calls (he himself made \$1,500.) "Yet good men, not drifters or drunks, are panhandling in the streets and women and children are queuing up for food in the Bronx and Brooklyn at relief centres".

May we let Mr. Iddon into an open secret about this country? That about two million people a year, including unemployed and impoverished pensioners, go to the Assistance Board for help!

What Next?

THE big political parties and the Labour Party above all have long been stressing the need for more investment to expand and modernise factories, plant and equipment. The argument is that this will make production larger in the years

ahead and that it is absolutely necessary in order to be able to sell at low prices and meet the competition of other countries, which are, they say going in for investment on a larger scale than does British industry.

When therefore the Treasury announced in February that investment in manufacture has been rising very fast and that the building of new factories this year is expected to be 40 per cent above last year, there was quite a lot of satisfaction, not to say pride among those who wanted this to happen.

Two elementary factors seem however, to have been overlooked. The first is that all countries are engaged in the same competitive rat race of hoping to be better off in the future but not now.

The second is that a sudden burst of 40 per cent more factories will be followed by a slackening off of factory building and by a burst of additional output when they are completed, and this in a situation in which the "sellers market" phase after the war has long since passed and been replaced by a phase of greater difficulty in selling, and keener competition.

H.

The Physiocratic School

Notes on Economic History (6)

No examination of the ideas of physiocracy would be complete without a reference to those who took up and developed Quesnay's teachings. They called themselves "economites". This school acquired great influence in France. Turgot, one of the members of this group and author of an important work on the subject of physiocracy, (*Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth*) was appointed Controller-General of the Finances in 1774. Another of Quesnay's pupils who became political chief of the physiocratic school, was the Marquis Victor de Mirabeau, generally known as Mirabeau the elder. Others were quick to espouse physiocracy in the land of its birth.

The physiocratic doctrine soon spread from France to other countries, but made little impression in England. It had immense influence in Germany, where Karl Friedrich, Margrave of Baden, aided by Schlettwein, the most distinguished among the German physiocrats, made an unsuccessful attempt to put in practice

the physiocratic principles of taxation. Leopold I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, endeavoured to introduce a "land tax" in his duchy. Joseph II, Catherine, and most of the other monarchs of the period, were affected and influenced by physiocratic ideas. The doctrine found adherents also in Italy, Poland, Sweden and elsewhere.

After Quesnay's death in 1774, dissensions broke out among the French physiocrats, chiefly because of Condillac, who insisted that commerce and industry were "fruitful" as well as agriculture, which was unorthodox to other physiocrats. The disputes that followed paved the way for the collapse of the movement. The dismissal of Turgot from office as a result of the poor condition of the State treasury, the bad harvest of 1775, the rise in the price of bread, and the bread riots all over the country, all helped this collapse.

Finally the French revolution, bringing the birth of Modern Capitalism to France, relegated the idea of physiocracy to the realm of the past.

The ideas of the Physiocrats did not escape criticism, even in the country of its

origin. Of particular interest are the works of Linquet, (*Legislation on Trade*, 1769) and Necker, (*Grain Legislation and Trade*, 1775 and the *Administration of the Finances of France*, 1785).

Linquet, who wrote ironically about conditions of the period, appears to defend chattel slavery against wage slavery, and ridicules all the physiocratic ideas of property. The following quotes from his writing of 1767 illustrate this. The first quotation is the answer to the physiocrats.

It is the impossibility of gaining a livelihood in any other way which forces our day labourers to till the soil whose fruits they will never eat, and our masons to raise buildings in which they will never dwell. It is poverty which drives them to market to dance attendance upon the masters who might wish to buy them. It is this which compels them to kneel before the rich, and to beg of them permission to enrich them.

And on freedom—a boast of the physiocrats:

What is this apparent liberty with which you have invested them? They can live only by renting their hands. They must find someone to rent them or die.

To the economists of his time he said this about the workers.

Do you not see that the obedience, the abjection—let us say it—of this numerous flock, is the wealth of the shepherds? If the sheep who comprise it were ever to lower their heads to the dog who herds them, would they not be dispersed and destroyed, and their masters ruined? Believe me, for his interest, and for your own, and even for theirs, leave them in the persuasion where they now are, that this cur which bays at them has more power itself alone than all they together. Let them flee at the mere sight of his shadow. Every one will be the gainer. You will find them easier to round up for the fleecing. They are more easily kept from being devoured by the wolves. It is true that this is only so they can be eaten by men. But then, that is their lot from the first moment they enter the fold. Before talking of releasing them, overturn

their fold, society.

Necker in his work shows that the development of the productive forces of the workers merely permits the worker to devote less time to the reproduction of his own wages and more to the enrichment of his employer. The importance of this is that Necker derives profit and rent, the wealth of the capitalist class, from surplus labour. But he sees it only as relative surplus value, produced not by the prolongation of the working day but by a reduction of the necessary labour time. The following quote from his *Administration of French Finances* shows the class position of his time.

That class in society whose fate seems as though fixed by social laws is composed of all those who, living by the labour of their hands, receive the imperious law of the proprietors and are forced to content themselves with the simplest necessities of life. Their mutual competition and the urgency of their wants constitutes their dependency; and these circumstances can in no way change.

In assessing the value and place of physiocracy in any history of political economy, we must take into account the economic development of France and other countries where the doctrine was accepted. Physiocracy is first and foremost the ideas of an agricultural economy; it is the philosophy of Feudalism gradually transforming into Capitalism. Its importance fades with the French Revolution.

For us today, physiocracy can be seen as a link in the chain that leads up to, and influences, later economists. Adam Smith was influenced by it, as were several others after him. The Henry George School of modern times is also a reflection of the old physiocrats. The liberal ideas of *laissez-faire*, freedom of competition likewise flow from this source.

Finally, its weakness has been shown by Marx in Volume 2 of *Capital*, as already mentioned in these notes.

R. A.

THE CONGO

CONGO DISASTER by Colin Legum.
Penguin Books 2/6.

For a very long time, the natives of what was the Belgian Congo have been an ill used race of men. The Arab slavers took, according to one estimate, 30 million of them. The agents of Leopold II were little better. The king said, "The slave trade . . . is a plague spot that every friend of civilisation would desire to see disappear. . . ." but in the event he imposed what Legum calls "forced labour on a scale unknown in modern times until the advent of Hitler".

It is little wonder that the Congolese have not forgotten and that their politics were so conditioned by the memories of the colonial period. Strong nationalist parties grew up and at the Brussels Conference in January last year they made their surprise demand for independence within six months. Just as surprisingly, the Belgians agreed without a struggle. There was, apparently, to be no repetition of Cyprus or Algeria. In fact the Congo, as Mr. Legum tells us, had already ceased to be a "Blue Chip" colony: the fall in world prices of copper and other primary commodities had seen to that.

The climb-down in Brussels was followed by the elections in June, in which the nationalists swept the board. But no section of them had a decisive lead and the ring was cleared for the unitarians (Lumumba, Gizenga) and the federalists (Kasavubu, Tshombe) to fight it out. The rest of the story is yesterday's news.

Mr. Legum indicts the Belgians, reveals Tshombe as a vicious fop, disposes of the notion that Lumumba was baking a troubled pie for Moscow to stick its thumbs into.

Although criticising the United Nations, he also gives them a lot of credit: "If there is neither chaos nor anarchy today it is solely due to the U.N. operations."

Congo Disaster has been overtaken by events (it was published before the Lumumba murder) so that its introduction is, in fact, a kind of postscript. Mr. Legum's suggested remedies are essentially old hat and, not surprisingly, ignore the commercial nature of society which is the real cause of the strife in the Congo.

But it is a typical Penguin—easy to read, easy to carry, and a useful refresher course on the history, economics and politics of one of the world's latest eruptions.

IVAN.

GLASGOW LECTURES

Sundays 7-30

Books Received

TELEVISION & THE POLITICAL IMAGE, Treanman & McQuail, Methuen 30/-

A HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE, (Vol 2: 1799-1945) Alfred Cobham, Pelican 5/-

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 p.m.

East Street, Walworth

April 2nd & 23rd (11am)

April 19th (1 p.m.)

April 16th & 30th (noon)

Thursdays

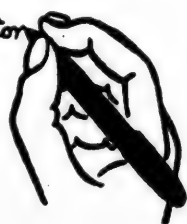
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 p.m.

LETTERS

COMMON-
OWNERSHIP?

I thank you for the interesting reply you give to my letter. It is the more welcome because it does meet the principle points of difference between us, even if I am right in my submission that it promptly runs away from them again. For example, "common-ownership" is accepted by both of us, but in whom is it to be vested, and how? The term covers a multitude of possibilities unless closely defined. President Nkrumah of Ghana lists four "sectors" of his country's proposed economy, "state-owned, joint state-private enterprise, co-operatives, and purely private." You would, of course, reject two of these, but what of the other alternatives, or have you one of your own? Again, you postulate "assessment of needs and the means to fulfil them," but who is to

To the Editor



assess? I am not arguing, mark, that assessments cannot be made. They obviously can be made about many things. But I want to know about it and I feel that a means-test of any variety should be repugnant to both of us. Of course, you do not mention anything of the kind, but what do you mean?

These are not trivial points for they involve the tremendous issue of administrative tyranny against communal freedom, stateism against decentralisation; indeed, syndicalism versus the commune. Where do you stand? Are you for high-powered mass-production run by trades-unions, on Fascist lines with Coventry and castor-oil complete for "deviationists," a vast factory system with "scientific" direction of labour in a monstrous mechanism under an ultimately totalitarian though differently labelled state, or for the comely life of production for use in free cooperative groups for the most part, and under only the most resilient form possible of overhead government? Are you for mass-production of everything despite the fact that, as every good farmer knows, mass farming is bad farming, and the other fact that quality craftsmanship beats factory products in length of life four or five times over. Mass-production is for the masses; who but they would touch it? In food products and manufactures alike it is recognised (by the advertising world) that it costs six times as much to sell an article as it does to make it. The difference is in transport costs, insurances, marketing charges, multifarious agency profits, wholesale and retail percentages—all arising from remote and competitive marketing, and all to be avoided, as Socialism would avoid them (or largely so), by leaving production and consumption to loosely articulated small units wherever possible.

There are hundred upon hundreds of successful co-operative groups in Britain today producing for use, sharing small machinery socially and employing expert advice. The point I wish to make here is that there is nothing to stop such development except the fact that the workers are in the main indifferent. There are the orthodox co-operative societies, of course, numbering in membership ten millions, a quarter of the population, owning the means and instruments of production and distribution. They are run as capitalist concerns and the excuse of socially conscious members is that they have to meet capitalist competition! "We have to beat the band!" What rubbish! The business of any genuine co-operative group is not to beat anything or anybody, but to co-operate. Of course, big business can "beat" the workers on its own ground, but how shall it beat the co-operative will? Above all, how beat production for use?

As it stands, however, the co-operative societies, after a century-and-a-half's dedicated (so it is alleged) membership rise to the giddy height of "save up for summer holidays" but fall lamentably short of any co-operative commonwealth whatever. Why? Not because there is anything at all in the way unless the competitive rat-race is still held sacred. It is because the workers neither understand Socialism nor want it.

The choice before us is between freedom and slavery. The one is possible only where control of the means of production is direct and immediate, just as democracy is possible only where the people are in direct and effective touch with public affairs. The other cannot be more than an impersonal power process to be rendered quite ghastly by modern automation and atomic energy.

We who claim to be Socialists used to acclaim freedom. With the present drift towards a totalitarian economy, and in trades-union politics the one-party state, your own utopian belief in a miraculous "dawn" upon the morrow of an equally miraculous release of pent-up proletarian virtue is as abstract and full of holes as a Henry Moore sculpture.

Belsize Park, N.W.3.

AMW111.

REPLY

Lord Amwell wants to know in whom common ownership is vested, and how?

The definition we gave was that everything that is in and on the earth would be the common possession of all mankind. In our property and privilege ridden society it is not easy to give a helpful illustration of what we mean, but we will try.

Air is the common possession of all mankind, you can breathe as much of it as you like without anyone raising an objection. Similarly you can drink as much water as you like at a public fountain. In both instances each person determines what he or she needs. The same process will operate in the future with food, clothing,

shelter and everything else. The people with the intelligence to build up the new society will also have the intelligence not to expect the impossible.

In the Socialist Party of Great Britain different members, and groups of members, are appointed to perform the necessary work in the organisation and propaganda of the Party. For example, the Literature Committee finds out from branches what literature they require—the local branches do the assessing. They make an estimate from experience of what further supplies are required. They then obtain from the printer the total amount they have arrived at and proceed to fulfil the needs of

branches and individuals. There is no administrative tyranny in this, it is purely a technical problem. While it is true that the Socialist Party is small, and therefore the problem is not a great one, yet in the future a similar procedure will be adopted in harmony with the size and complexity of society's needs.

Production in each area will be based on what individuals in that area need—they will make their own assessment of what they need. Experience will enable the production assessors to have available sufficient in quantity and variety to fulfil these needs. The articles will be available in suitable places in the area and all that people will have to do is to go there and take what they want. We used the example of a self-service store in the limited sense that people can go there and take what they want of what is available. In that instance, of course, they have to pay for what they take—in the future they will just take.

While the new society is getting on its feet there may be people who, still afflicted with the possessive inclinations of the past, may want to load themselves up with more than they need. Well, what of it? They will soon get tired of their stupid and unnecessary efforts.

In our view each community will be as self-supporting as possible. Some things, however, will need extra community arrangements: like raw material, travel, correspondence, and so forth. These arrangements are just technical questions which can be dealt with by groups of people at given centres who are interested in this kind of work. In the future society there will be no isolated communities, split off from the rest of the world. They will all be part of a world Socialist system, decentralised but each working in harmony with the rest, without statism or tyranny, to enable everyone to live a useful, interesting and satisfactory life. If there are occupations that are necessary but uninteresting then some method of sharing will be devised.

This brings us to the question of mass production. Whether or how far there will be mass production we cannot say now. A great deal that is mass produced nowadays will be unnecessary in the future—armament production is one example. The mass produced article is as a rule the cheap, the short-lived and the lacking in variety. Whether mass production saves a really appreciable amount of labour in the long run is questionable. But what is not questionable is that it is soul-destroying work. Obviously the aim will be to limit that kind of work as much as possible. The accent will be on craftsmanship, and if mass production still operates it will only be in operation in instances where it is essential for the benefit of the community. More than this we cannot say.

We agree with Lord Amwell's description of orthodox co-operative societies as just capitalist concerns in which petty investors have neither control nor influence, though they can make a lot of noise at times.

Finally, we do not believe in any miraculous dawn. We believe in the development of understanding, which will be transferred into action by the mass of the population who suffer under the present system. Socialism can only be established when the

majority of society understand it, want it, and take action to bring it about. There is no other way, but there are plenty of roads into the morass of confusion and disillusion.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Bill

Bill was born a little before the turn of the century— "Same year as Charlie Chaplin", he would claim, as though in some vague, sad way he wished to identify himself with that symbol of the universal underdog. Orphaned very young, he eventually entered a naval training school, then, as sailor and musician, travelled the wide world for the better part of twenty years.

All the so-called virtues were inherent in Bill. He was healthy, honest, kind, dutiful, diligent and humble. "Life" to him was a clear cut issue of service to one's betters, obedience to and unquestioning faith in "authority". Of such stuff is capitalism made, and Bill was the last to question the justice or sanity of the social system.

Having survived the first world war-to-end-wars he chose civilian life and by the early twenties had settled in a London suburb to raise a small family. Trained to worship at the shrine of service and security he became a post office worker. He had served his king and country; he would now serve his neighbours in the role of conscientious workman.

Not that Bill thought all this out. As a propertyless member of society he was a "natural" prole; the kind of prole that any Blimp would give his left arm for (almost). But I digress . . . If, then, the social system has anything to offer its perfect proles one would assume Bill's rake-off worthy of attention—certainly worthy of Bill. He worked hard, pinched nothing, acknowledged his "station", doffed his hat to the vicar, was faithful to his wife and suffered children—his own and everyone else's—with immeasurable patience.

Who better deserved the milk and honey of a world that sets so much store upon the worthy life? Here, I'm afraid, is the point at which, dear reader, you are in for a shock.

You see, with all his merits Bill was, nevertheless, a wage slave. Briefly, it amounts to this: that all the nice things he said and thought and did had a strictly cash value which, though renewed from Friday to Friday, left him not one

wit nearer security or luxury. He earned 30s., £2 £2 10s., £3 10s. a week, the figure rising as the years rolled on, but only in relation to the comparable rise in his cost of living. The only permanent factor in Bill's economy was his inability to provide more than the minimum food, clothing and shelter for his family, an annual trip to the sea, with presents for the kids at Christmas and birthdays thrown in for good measure. True he squandered good money on ten fags a day, a weekly flutter on the Pools and a pint or two at the local on Sunday mornings. I leave it to you to judge of his extravagance.

Meanwhile his family grew up. His son came of age in a different generation with a different outlook. He did, in fact, challenge the *status quo* and put his findings to his father in no uncertain terms. Discussions played merry hell with the sanctuary of Bill's apathy, but to no avail. Bill either wouldn't or couldn't see the point—or, more precisely, the pointlessness.

With typical humility Bill swallowed his pride when the second world war-to-end-wars blew up and his son contracted out of it. Discussions continued, mostly in letters or during their infrequent meetings when his son visited home while doing land work in various parts of the country.

Eventually a flying bomb blotted out a life's work for Bill. His son, summoned by telegram, found him picking at the charred and shattered remains of his paltry goods and chattels. Between sobs he posed a question—not for himself nor merely for his family, but for his kind. . . .

"Why did this happen to us, son? Why, why, why?"

Bill began to die from the day the bomb fell. His hair changed colour overnight, humour drained from his personality. He was a man dedicated to his search for an answer to that anguished "Why?" Three years later he was pensioned off as a worker. For five months more he "languished" on fifty bob a week, then died. The surgeon said he was riddled with cancer. His estate totalled £47.

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4



APRIL 1911

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT'S PEACE CAMPAIGN OF 1911

It is significant that no hope is held out of a "peace treaty" except with America—a country with whom all serious differences have already been composed, against whom, in addition, Britain would hurl her might in vain, and who could inflict damage, where they can inflict it at all, with impunity. They could starve us out by stopping their own and Canadian wheat at the granaries. It is admitted that on the day when the States and Canada join hands the "mother country" has got to submit. On that day the treaty becomes in all eyes what from the first it must be in reality—waste paper. It is easy for two nations who cannot fight to make a treaty that they won't.

But the case is different with, say, Germany. No responsible person suggests a treaty with that country—yet it is Germany that has made a British Liberal Government increase its annual Naval Estimates £14,000,000 in five years. No derision waits the Minister who dares suggest such a treaty, for the farce would be too apparent. Just as a treaty with America brings peace no nearer because the two could not fight, treaty or no treaty, so a treaty with Germany would bring peace no nearer because, in the face of conflicting interests (without which they would not fight in any event), the treaty would not be worth the cost of its inscription. The humbug, therefore, of the cry of "Peace" and "Disarmament," is apparent.

And while the British Liberal Government are making the remote corners of the earth echo and re-echo with the empty nothing, "Peace!" they are voting the enormous sum of £75,000,000 for war—on the principle that they'll have peace if they have to fight for it.

Strange, is it not, that in all this cry of "peace" but one incentive shows itself? "The burden of armaments. It is the treasure, not the blood, that causes the capitalist head to ache. No wonder—for treasure is the master's, while the blood is the workers'. £75,000,000 in a year is a mighty drain, and the Government that is forced to exact it is in a pic-

Before the end he came very close to his son's way of thinking. They talked—no longer frittering time in argument—about capitalism, war, poverty, ugliness, man's inhumanity to man and the way to resolve these social ills through Socialism. It could be said that Bill had to learn the hard way, but he learned in the end.

One might be tempted to dismiss Bill

as a relic of the past, but nothing could be further from the truth. There are millions of Bills in the world today, all destined to receive the same treatment until they challenge and overthrow the system that mocks their every virtue as "good" human beings.

And Bill was a good 'un. I ought to know—he was my father.

A. K.

The Lot of the Miner

DEEP down in the efficient modernised, mechanised and electrified mines men still grovel, sweat and inhale black dust. But they should not grumble; the wages are high, the hospitals that treat their special diseases are bigger and better. They have all the public's sympathy for any small inconveniences met with while extracting Our Coal. What more could a miner ask? The gentlemen of the Board have done everything. In their clean trim offices where the supporting beams never collapse, they think mining has reached the millenium.

The miners apparently do not. In spite of fantastic changes, pit head baths

carious position. So they scream "peace" by way of a soft answer to turn away wrath—and also in the certain knowledge that the result will demonstrate that peace, even as the capitalist understands it, is possible only at the cost of crushing armaments—or national extinction.

Exactly one-half of the Labour Members in Parliament came up to scratch to save the face of their party by voting against the Liberals' immense Naval Estimates. The other half (save two who voted for them!) stood out of it to oblige the Liberals!

Keir Hardie says the party were bribed, the Osborne Bill being the price of their defection, and he should know. But we wonder how many would have opposed the Estimates had they been really in danger. How many would dare have gone back to their Liberal constituencies with the confession on their lips that they had helped to defeat a Liberal Government? Not many, we venture to guess.

[The "Osborne Bill," which Keir Hardie says was the Liberal Government's bribe to get Labour M.P.s to vote for increased armaments, became the Trade Union Act, 1913, legalising the political activities of trade unions.]

and the like; in the face of every improvement, free coal, and more pay, the fellows still complain. There are better jobs outside the pit they think—which only shows the extent of their ingratitude. For just who saw salvation in bureaucracy and clamoured for a Coal Board?

In an age that reaches for the moon, the mining of coal a mile under our feet, without turning men into moles, would seem rather a small order. But ours is a paradoxical society; aspiring to dizzy heights we plumb the depths of human exploitation. At the end of the last century after a life-time of study that saved untold millions, Louis Pasteur commented regretfully on this terrible and characteristic feature of our advanced civilization. Just as large numbers of medical workers all over the world are busy curing diseases and wiping out plagues and fevers while other men are devoting all their skills to designing bombs which can shrivel whole cities, so also in the field of commerce as one interested group tries to solve problems which may free men from degrading toil, another section of the industry sees profits threatened and resists progress. The complexity of the antagonisms and contradictions in any one trade would fill a book.

The miners' employer, anonymous shareholder though he is, views the goose as coldly and dispassionately as the former mine-owner did; he levels the machine against the worker as keenly as his nineteenth century counterpart did, when he sees the possibility of increasing profits. What! with this steel navy at his beck and call surely the miner's life is easier? Surely the old, back-breaking toil is gone? But the machine, simply because it is a machine does not tire. To tend it the man must go at the machine's speed and this proves a great strain, physically and mentally. He may work fewer hours but the pace during those

hours has become fiercer. The man now works for the machine; he has become the appendage of a machine.

Delving in dark places, the miner has at last seen a glimmer of light; like the rabbit in the trap he longs to be free. And in these boom-times jobs are waiting for men. Here then is freedom. What strange freedom though! Freedom to work; freedom to work overtime; freedom to do exactly what the boss says; freedom to draw national assistance when job-less; freedom to send wives out to work to pay for things men's wages cannot buy. The miner is free to change his occupation and let us admit he is the best judge of whether the change is a good one. But it is a sad, as well as a safe thing to say, he has only thrown off some of his shackles. A sensitive ear can still detect above the din of the bright and busy factory, a rattle and clink of chains.

M. B.

T.U.C. & THE BUDGET

As happens every year the T.U.C.'s pre-budget recommendations have been placed before the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as in past recommendations platitudes abound. It would appear that this year's remedy is economic expansion with an export drive, which the T.U.C. say is based on a need for long term planning. One would have thought that economic expansion was a job for the capitalist class and that the defence of workers' interests should be the main occupation of the T.U.C.

The T.U.C. added that for the export drive to succeed not only physical controls limiting less essential industries may be necessary, but that if these measures affect Britain's balance of payments the Government should take a "calculated risk" by controlling non-essential imports. The T.U.C.'s further warning was that although the measures suggested may be unpopular the alternatives could be worse. It would appear from all this that the workers have very little choice either way.

We must point out that the T.U.C.'s suggested measures have all been tried many times before. Since however the nature of capitalist production compels all other capitalist nations to introduce the same measures the contradictions of the system with all its disastrous consequences is made more obvious. The spectacle of the T.U.C. leaders ably assisting British Capitalism in its world rat race is an object lesson.

W. G. F.

BRANCH NEWS *continued from page 64*
month. The first, on Friday, April 7th, deals with post-war Germany, and the second, on Friday, April 28th, subject—the eventful year of 1848.

Events last month were a film show, the first of the monthly canvasses in the Acton area, and on the social side a visit to the Toulouse Lautrec Exhibition at the Tate Gallery, followed by the usual get-together at a member's home in the evening.

The next canvass in the Acton area will be held on April 9th time and meeting place to be announced. Attendance of members at Branch meetings has been remarkably high of late. Please do your utmost to keep this up.

ISLINGTON

Islington Branch continues to hold successful lunch hour meetings every Thursday at Tower Hill. Attentive audiences of two to three hundred are becoming a regular feature. Literature sales could be improved if comrades would attend regularly to assist Comrade McGuinness. This is useful and enjoyable work for the Party. Please join Comrades Ambidge and McGuinness on Thursdays, 12.30 p.m. at Tower Hill.

WEMBLEY

Wembley Branch members were agreeably surprised when over a dozen Jehovah's Witnesses turned up to Comrade Law's talk on the J.W. Movement, held on February 15th. There was lively discussion which lasted until the end of the meeting. A report was published later in the local press. The branch view seems to have been justified that members need to brush up their knowledge of contemporary religious theories. So further lectures will be arranged later, covering Modern Non-conformism, Spiritualism, The Mormons, etc.

At the end of February, Comrade Bryant (S.P. of A.) talked to the branch about Automation. Other discussions have been fixed for April, and there will be a film show early in May. All welcome, and for those interested, full details from the branch secretary.

The branch is slowly but surely increasing its sales of the Socialist STANDARD, mainly by canvassing

and current figures are reaching the twenty dozen mark. They may well have passed this by the time these notes appear. Parts of Wood Green Area were successfully canvassed on February 26th, and a member living locally will follow up. This part of London is due for another visit shortly. At the beginning of the outdoor season in May, we shall try a canvass in Portsmouth and follow this with a meeting on the sea front in the afternoon. All branches will be informed of precise arrangements.

During the winter, we have had the benefit of writers classes held in Wembley on alternate Friday evenings. Emphasis has been laid here on improving our style of writing by applying the general principles of journalism—forceful presentation and economy of words. We hope that the results will show themselves shortly in better articles for the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

CANADA

Two former members of Ealing Branch went abroad to Toronto at the beginning of 1957. They were Comrades G. and S. Catt. For some time, fairly regular letters have passed between them and London. Now comes the splendid news that they have both joined the Socialist Party of Canada and have managed to start a local discussion group, with nine or ten persons regularly attending. There have been some very lively meetings to all accounts, and these comrades are hopeful that a Toronto branch of the S.P. of C. can be formed in the not too distant future. Address for those interested is 184, Beach Avenue, Toronto.

But it is an uphill struggle against tremendous odds, particularly since the Socialist movement over there is small and scattered. At the same time, it is a challenge which the Comrades Catt have gladly accepted, and we send them our very best wishes.

A DONATION

The Party acknowledges with sincere thanks a donation of £500 received on March 14th from Ethel Lee Haing, an Australian Party member. She had saved to buy a car, but felt that the sacrifice was worth making to help in our work for Socialism.

P. H.

RALLY 7.30
MAY DAY GLASGOW
Sunday May 7th
Queens Park Recreation Ground
Speakers: C. May, A. Shaw, R. Donnelly
ST. ANDREWS HALL, Mid Hall, Door G
7.30
Speaker: C. May Chair: R. Donnelly

Public Meeting DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

Speakers: C. May, H. Young

Wednesday 19 April 7 pm
St Pancras Town Hall

Euston Road, NW1



Branch News

ST. PANCRAS, APRIL 19th

Most members will already know of the demonstration for Socialism meeting being held at St. Pancras Town Hall on Wednesday, April 19th. This is a very special occasion and calls for the enthusiasm and practical assistance of all London comrades. From Monday, April 10th, until the meeting date, a programme has been arranged for advertising the event by distributing handbills. The urgency and necessity for the work cannot be too strongly stressed. So please take up the challenge and rally to the distribution centres at 7.45 p.m. on the following dates:

Monday, April 10th - Camden Town Underground Station.
Tuesday and Wednesday, April 11th and 12th - Mornington Crescent Underground Station.
Thursday and Friday, April 13th and 14th - Century Cinema, Kings Cross.
Monday, April 17th - Angel Underground Station, Islington.
Tuesday, April 18th - Russell Square Underground Station.
Wednesday, April 19th, at 7.30 p.m. — DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM, St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston Road, N.W.1.

EALING

The attention of members is drawn to two film shows being held this

continued from previous page

Meetings

CONFERENCE RALLY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WCI

Sunday April 2nd, 7.30 pm

"SOCIALISM - THE NEW HORIZON"

Speakers: C. May, M. Harris

EALING FILM SHOWS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway 8pm

Friday April 7th

"A DEFEATED PEOPLE"

(Analysis of post-war Germany)

Introduction: H. Weaver

Friday April 28th

"PICTURISATION OF 1848"

(as seen through the eyes of Daumier)

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Road, E.2.

Wednesday, 8th March, 8 p.m.

"REVOLUTION v REFORM"

Speaker: D. McCarthy

LEWISHAM LECTURE

Co-op Hall (Room 1) Davenport Rd. Rushey Green, Catford, SE6

Monday April 17th 8pm

"ARCHITECTURE"

Speaker: R. Critchfield

GLASGOW MEETINGS.

Room 2, Door G, St. Andrew's Hall, Berkeley Street.

Sundays 7.30 p.m. (prompt)

April 2nd

"THE CLASS STRUGGLE - TODAY"

Speaker: T. Jones

April 9th

"THE LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE"

Speaker: J. Higgins

April 16th

"AFRICA"

Speaker: R. Reid

April 23rd

"CASTRO - CUBA AND CAPITALISM"

Speaker: R. Russell

April 30th

"RUSSIA AND CHINA"

Speaker: J. Richmond

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Bunner Street, London, E.C.1.

MAY
1961

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

6^p

SOCIALIST STANDARD

► MAY DAY 1961 — We reaffirm international working-class solidarity and the aim of human brotherhood. 90 years ago this month, Daumier — the Commune — illustrates the inhumanity of capitalism and in particular the savagery of the French ruling class in crushing working-class Paris May 1871.



MAY DAY MEETINGS

IN THIS ISSUE

SOUTH AFRICA OUT

MUST WE HAVE LEADERS?

SLUMS FOR 100 YEARS

STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN LAOS

INFLUENCE OF TV

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
 - 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
 - 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
 - 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
 - 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
 - 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
 - 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
 - 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (4th & 18th May) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 5th May at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 19th May at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (8th May) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (10th & 24th May) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulhern, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Alternate Mondays (8th & 22nd May) 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

CHELTHAM Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (1st & 15th May) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B., 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (10th & 24th May) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (8th & 22nd May) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (1st & 15th May) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynhill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th & 25th May) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (12th and 26th May) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 18th May 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craska, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

May 1961 Vol 57 No 681

CONTENTS

- 68 The Passing Show
- 69 News in Review
 - South Africa out
 - Washington Wirlwind
 - Kicked Upstairs
 - Salisbury Too
 - New Boy Learns
- 70 Must we have Leaders?
- 71 Born Lazy
- 72 Finance and Industry
 - Increase in Accidents
 - National Income
 - High Wages
 - Willing to Pay
 - Slums for 100 years
- 73 Wealth of Nations
- 74 Struggle for Laos
- 75 From an Austrian Comrade
- 76 Morris & Co.
- 77 Lisa Bryan
- 78 The Influence of TV
- 78 Labour and the Health Charges
- 79 Abundance and Poverty
- 80 Branch News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Just another May Day?

EACH YEAR, as the first of May comes round, it is our custom to reflect upon its significance for the working class. For the better part of fifty years we have devoted either the editorial or leading article of the SOCIALIST STANDARD to May Day.

We do not need to check on every past issue to know what all those editorials have said. If there is any essential difference to be found between them it will be in their growing awareness, as each May Day comes and goes, of the widening gulf between the present and the past. The May Day of today is but a pale shadow of those gone by.

All those editorials will have spoken about the origins of May Day in the struggles of workers in the past. Of the way in which it has gradually been losing its meaning for them in the present. Of how its message has been distorted and degraded over the years by so many people and parties claiming to be Socialist—but who are far from being so. Above all, they will have reflected on how an event born in the spirit of the international brotherhood of the working class has become an occasion for displays of the crudest nationalism and military pageantry, and of the way in which an idea that, for all its shortcomings in practice, at least had some relevance to the movement of revolutionary Socialism, has deteriorated into an annual charade for the prime benefit of the Labour reformists of the world.

And how long will it be before they cease to keep up even this pretence? The charade is already developing into farce. May Day, if it is not dead, is rapidly dying.

What, then, are Socialists to make of May Day? Convinced that the only hope for the world lies with international Socialism and that May Day should be a unique occasion to demonstrate this, what are we to think of its debasement by the reformist prattlings of Labour leaders or the parades of nuclear missiles through Moscow's Red Square? Should we be disheartened by such travesties of the meaning of May Day and write it off in despair? Of course not.

Say what we will, May Day reminds one of the few occasions capable of enthusing workers to come together and demonstrate politically. That we consider their politics to be wrong only serves to confirm that it is the duty of the Socialist Party to seek to convince them that our policy is right. May Day gives the opportunity—from our platforms, through our literature, and by discussion with them as individuals—to do just this.

This year we are holding two open-air rallies, one in London and the other in Glasgow. Each of them will be followed by a large indoor meeting in the evening. It is for each and every member of the Party in both cities to do his utmost to make them a success. The results of the Party's effort at Easter, in spite of atrocious weather, show what can be done.

In a world of sordid nationalism and political reformism, the cause we stand for is international Socialism. Let us then demonstrate for this, the only funda-



MAY 1911

PERILS OF MODERN INDUSTRY

The Committee [Departmental Committee on Accidents in Places under the Factory and Workshops Acts] was appointed in 1908 by the then Home Secretary, who was compelled to take this step owing to the enormous yearly increase in the number of reported accidents in factories and workshops that had taken place. The total rose from 79,020 in 1900 to 100,609 in 1905, while between 1905 and 1907 there was a further striking increase, the figures being:—

	Total.	Fatal.
1905	100,609	1,063
1906	111,904	1,116
1907	124,325	1,179

The conclusions arrived at by the Committee as to the causes of the increase appear to have been made as vague as possible. But we read in Section IV, "Causes Tending to Increase or Decrease Accident Risk."

"A considerable amount of evidence was given to show that work was now done at a greater speed and higher pressure than formerly." And further that "Much of the increase was attributed to the general raising of the standard of effort in all spheres of life." Evidence was given that in the textile trades machines run faster than formerly; in wool weaving, for example, looms working at 80 picks a minute were thought fast ten years ago, but now the new ones run at 100 picks a minute.

As regards engineering, the increased speed of cutting tools was referred to, and evidence was given showing that the speed of punching, shearing, bending, and squeezing machines had increased. In iron and steel works, and in tinplate works, the Committee were told that improved machinery had led to increased speed.

There was something of a diversity of opinion as regards Piece Work, but generally the evidence was that piece work, task work, and bonus systems of payment tended to cause undue hurry.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
May, 1911.

mental thing worth demonstrating for, more confidently and more effectively than ever before, this May Day, 1961.

For we should not regard it as just another May Day. On the contrary. It is a further opportunity—a fine opportunity—to spread the message of Socialism.

Let us make the most of it.

The Passing Show

To guard the country

Those people who fought so long to bring about the establishment of the new capitalist state of Nigeria must have been reading of the latest developments there with great pride. For on March 29th Dr. Azikiwe, the Governor-General of Nigeria, put on the uniform of a field-marshal and addressed the two houses of the Nigerian Parliament. His remarks were as martial as his clothing. He announced "defence measures including a chain of police posts to guard the country's eastern frontier" (*The Times*, 30/3/61).

In the first speech from the throne by a Nigerian Governor-General, he said the Government intended to seek expert advice on how to establish an air force. The Government would continue to build a defence system which would not only ensure internal security but "will also serve as a deterrent to any would-be aggressor."

The new Nigerian ruling class are clearly losing no time in building up armed forces to protect or extend their interests both at home and abroad. Thanks to their own efforts and to their allies in the reformist parties in this country, they have established their rule over the people of Nigeria. Now they are creating a carbon copy of the older capitalist states.

Paris in the springtime

The idea of gay, fashionable Paris, the city of elegance and spacious boulevards, took a hard knock recently. The French Government (like a lot of other governments) wanted to persuade the electorate that living conditions would be a lot better in a few years' time: so they put on an exhibition about it. Unfortunately from their own point of view, this showed just what living conditions in Paris are now. Of some 2,700,000 dwellings in the Parisian area, 800,000 have been condemned as unhealthy. Of the homes in the city itself, only 17 per

cent have a bathroom, while in the suburbs the figure sinks to just over ten per cent. Parisians have only one square metre of green space per head.

Needless to say, there is already a "housing drive" in progress to "solve" the slum problem. One new dwelling is completed every six minutes. Unhappily, a new Parisian is born every three minutes. And besides those born in Paris, thousands more stream in every year from the provinces—600,000 in the last five years.

There is more to Paris than the tourists at the Arc de Triomphe and the Champs Elysées ever see.

Fiction

The death of Belinda Lee in a car-crash in California was followed by an article in the Vatican news paper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, attacking the people of the "world of the cinema screen". "It is a generation", said the editorial, "without a fixed address, a generation for whom fiction becomes a reality."

Well, well. One would have thought that clerics were the last people to be able to accuse anyone else of taking fiction for reality.

A Christian celebration

Seen recently in a stationer's shop-window in Woolwich was a card bearing the notice:

*Easter is a Christian celebration
Get your Easter greetings cards here.*

How solicitous shopkeepers are to remind the religious of their duties and obligations! After making Christmas the excuse for an intensive, two months' sales campaign, they appear to be starting on Easter. All that remains now is for the supermarkets to put up large notices reminding shoppers of their duty to fast during Lent. Then we will have seen everything.

A. W. E.

- ★ COMMONWEALTH
- ★ PRESIDENT KENNEDY
- ★ HOUSE OF LORDS
- ★ TORY SPLIT
- ★ TANGANYIKA

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

South Africa out

THE usual products of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conferences have been toothy photographs and solemn, empty communiques. Astonishing, then, was the campaign to expel South Africa.

Astonishing, too was the fact that the campaign succeeded. Why should the Prime Ministers get so upset about the apartheid policy?

Racial discrimination is quite detestable, but it is only one of many types of suppression. If the Prime Ministers wanted to scotch such things, they were right to get rid of South Africa—but why did they not then also expel Australia, India, Ghana, Ceylon—the United Kingdom itself?

It was not just a matter of the Premiers making a pact with their consciences. The Commonwealth, despite the unctuous propaganda about it, is nothing more than a world-wide trading tie-up, as was appreciated by the City Editors who, in the first few days after South Africa's withdrawal, anxiously looked into the commercial effects of it all.

The ganging-up against South Africa may have been partly inspired by political motives, but was also a reflection of the South African industrialists' opposition to Verwoerd's policies.

Let nobody think that it was the result of charitable concern for the African underdog. To mix our metaphors, capitalist nations have other fish to fry.

Washington Whirlwind

EVERYBODY in Washington has been fascinated by the ruthless energy of President Kennedy. No one is safe from the new chief's eye. "This guy," said one official, "eats up reports."

White House correspondents are fond of telling us that Kennedy is busy because he is building a new America. There are hopeful murmurings about young aspirations, new frontiers, and so on.

There is nothing new in this. Franklin Roosevelt was hailed in much the same

way. Eisenhower was described as the man to bring probity and courage to American government. Yet it was under Roosevelt that America suffered the Second World War. And the Eisenhower era left behind a sticky unemployment problem; during the first quarter of this year there were 5½ million people out of work in the United States.

Unemployment is only one of the new President's headaches; others are the situation in Laos and the continuing disarmament wrangle. If the Kennedy administration sorts these out, it will find that American capitalism has turned up a few other problems.

Whatever the personal characteristics of a leader, his actions and his reputation are largely governed by the conditions of capitalism which he tries to control. Perhaps it is as well for U.S. capitalism that the President is so lively.

Kicked Upstairs

MR. ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN has fought a furious fight against his transfer to the House of Lords. Despite his struggles, the government showed that they were determined to have him kicked upstairs.

Some lobby correspondents whispered that Mr. Macmillan personally gave the thumbs-down to Mr. Benn's efforts to renounce his peerage. The P.M., said the rumour, is at odds with Lord Hailsham, and doesn't want to set a precedent which might bring him back to the commons.

Mr. Benn's predicament is not free of irony. The Labour Party, of course, once stood for the abolition of the House of Lords. And Mr. Benn's constituency used to elect Sir Stafford Cripps, who was at one time an ardent opponent of royalty, titles and the rest.

By the time Labour achieved power in 1945, they had dropped their old pledge about the Lords. Now, in fact, they do their bit towards helping the Upper House alive by supplying their share of life peerages.

It is Mr. Benn's bad luck to have been born the son of a peer. His membership of the Labour Party is a different matter. He may not be able to resign his title: but he can always leave the

party which has supported the system of pomp and privilege.

Salisbury Too

SOME of the five M.P.'s who were disorganised in the Parliamentary Labour Party's latest spasm wasted no time in getting their feet blistered on this year's Aldermaston do. Mr. Alan Brown, the member for Tottenham who gave up the Labour whip because he thinks that the party is too soft on the unilateralists, was not bothered by such discomforts.

This was another stage in the long Labour wrangle over defence. The Labour leaders, who know that British capitalism must have the most efficient weapons and armed forces possible, object to the "eat-out-cake-and-have-it" attitude of the unilateralists in the party. While all this was happening, an announcement from the cool dignity of Hatfield House told of Lord Salisbury's virtual resignation from the Conservative Party. For a long time, Salisbury

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney
N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

has been opposed to the government's colonial policies, the last straw was the easy way in which they have gone along with the African nationalists.

Sadly for him, Salisbury's resignation caused scarcely a ripple; Mr. Macmillan has ridden much heavier punches in his time. But it is as well to be reminded that the Tories also have their splits, on colonial policy and other issues.

Need we say that there is one cause on which all Tories unite, with all Labourites solidly beside them? Whatever incidental quarrels they may have, they all agree about wanting capitalism to stay.

New Boy Learns

POLITICIANS in different countries make speeches in different languages and different idioms, but there is one theme beloved of them all, one speech that every Prime Minister and Finance Minister carries in his brief case: the speech about the need for the workers to shun idleness and work harder.

Tanganyika has just achieved its independence, and as the politicians there have been telling the workers that this is the most glorious event in their lives, they had visions of celebrating the great occasion with a nice long bout of fun and feasting under the African sun. But their new Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, lost no time in warning them that, for the workers, life under capitalism is real and earnest:—

A day's rejoicing is enough. We will make nothing of Tanganyika and we will set no example in the world unless it be by renewed efforts of hard work.

A few days later in a broadcast "he exhorted the unemployed not to loaf on the roadsides but to open up the Rufiji basin, a fertile but unpopulated area as large as England." (*Guardian* 7/4/61).

People on another planet noticing the universality of this speech may wonder if there is some agency from which all the politicians get their speeches, but the explanation is much simpler; how will the rich be assured of their riches and their abundant leisure unless the workers work hard and long and cultivate habits of diligence and frugality?

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The best introduction to the Socialist Party's case obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

(1/3 post paid)

Must We Have Leaders?

What distinguishes the Socialist Party of Great Britain and its Companion Parties from all other organisations is its Policy and Principles. In a word, its case. It is just as logical that our way of looking at things should produce one set of consequences as it is that the outlook of the pro-capitalist organisations should produce another.

As an organisation founded upon class consciousness and Socialist understanding, what we say about wars, crises, housing, racism, crime and poverty must be fundamentally different from what those organisations founded upon patriotism and ignorance say about these things.

The question of leadership underlines the difference between Socialists and non-Socialist organisations. In the relationship of leader and follower are to be found the expression of all the prejudice, arrogance, and ignorance which make the continuation of capitalism possible.

In dealing with leadership we cite as an example the Labour Party, who are notorious for their leaders. But they are not alone in their acceptance of the leadership idea. A common cry about the Labour Party, as each set of leaders comes and goes, has always been "traitors—they have betrayed us." This cry is typical of the so-called "left" as personified by the Communist Party and the Trotskyites, who also love their leaders.

No leader can advance further than the concepts and limited objectives of those who follow. It is therefore this situation that controls the leader, not the other way round. When a leader finds himself in power or in a position of responsibility, it is the conditions of capitalism that dictate how he shall act. They are at all times the products of events, and their popularity rises and falls according to how they act in given circumstances.

When the rank and file do not get what they have been led to think is good for them, they turn away. This is one factor,

among others, in the loss of interest in trade unions and the Labour Party. It is not a question of "betrayal" but the inevitable disillusionment that comes from ignorance.

Capitalism, with its minority class ownership of the means of production, the profit motive, and the seething antagonisms which it generates throughout the world, prevent any fulfilment for the working-class in terms of peace and happiness. Having trusted their leaders of kinds and not having yet achieved socialist understanding, they end up bewildered and frustrated. This pitiful process is already showing itself in those parts of Africa where capitalism is just coming into its own. As capitalism develops in Africa it brings the same problems and property conflicts common to capitalism everywhere. Nationalism, the expression of the rising capitalist-class interest throws up the "leaders" who are the agents through which the conflicting factions press their property claims. Once more the question of who shall enjoy the rich proceeds of the exploitation of the workers, (black and white), who shall get fat from the copper and other mineral deposits, is being fought out in the name of "freedom". Once more the question of which group of blood-suckers, land-owners or industrialists, home-grown or foreign, shall rule is rallying the workers around the leaders who represent one gang of exploiters or another.

We are told from all sides "you must have leaders—there has to be someone at the top". Nothing dismays our opponents more than when we tell them that we have no leaders and are opposed to the very idea of them. It is truly amazing, despite the hundreds of leaders in the world (political, religious, trade union) and their utter failure to do anything about the plight of the world, that the faithful persist in believing that we can't do anything without them.

The more emphasis put on the leader, the more gullible and unthinking are the followers. Hitler, Stalin and the Pope are examples. Yet what good is a leader without the power to make decisions? The more a leader has to listen to the rank and file the more pointless he becomes. The ultimate logic of leadership and its ideal personification is the dictator.

Lenin, who was probably the champion verbal acrobat of all time, was able to

negate democracy while posing as its supporter. He said:

The Soviet Socialist democracy is in no way inconsistent with the rule and dictatorship of one person; that the will of a class is at times best realised by a dictator, who sometimes will accomplish more by himself and is frequently more needed.—Quoted by Martov in his "The State and the Socialist Revolution," page 31.

This contempt for the ability of the working-class to understand their own interests and to act in an enlightened way, was not shared by the founders of scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels. The Marxist view is found in the *Communist Manifesto*, the joint work of Marx and Engels who always addressed themselves to the working-class, not to any elite. They spent their lives teaching and explaining, which, of course, is the last thing a leader can do.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.

What is true in the political field also holds good in the industrial side of the class-struggle. We have already mentioned trade-unions; a few points in elaboration are worth making. Here again lack of class understanding sets the pace. The proper function of a trade union is to organise its members in the fight for better wages and conditions of work. To the extent that nationalism dominates the thinking of trade union members, so they will support the capitalists of a particular country against the international interest of their own class. They get involved in the capitalists' affairs of markets and production efficiency and, listening to their leaders identifying their interests nationally with the capitalists, they fall for the idea of doing what is good for their masters' country.

As a result of trusting leaders, since the war workers have lost many opportunities to increase their wages. They accepted the wage-freeze policy when their trade-union and Labour Party leaders said they should. Even now, unofficial wages in some industries are well ahead of the trade-union rate which shows that there is a discrepancy between what workers can get when labour is relatively scarce, and what the unions accept as sufficient. The unofficial struggles at factory and site level tend to isolate the rank and file from their leaders who always condemn unofficial

action, but are powerless to prevent it. Industrially and politically leadership is nothing but a curse to the class-

conscious organisation of the world's workers for Socialism.

H. B.

Born Lazy

"What will you do with the lazy (or greedy, or selfish) people, who will want to take everything and give nothing?"

We often hear this objection to Socialism, from opponents who think that a social system in which wealth would be freely available to everybody must collapse, because it is somehow contrary to "human nature". To these objectors, we are all, because of "human nature", basically lazy (or greedy, or selfish).

In fact, the term "human nature"—the need for food, air, water and so on, and some biological peculiarities—can only apply to those characteristics which are unalterably human. Laziness, greediness and the like are only aspects of human behaviour. These are not unalterable—they are often fostered in us by the acquisitive and competitive nature of property society: some of them, indeed, are taught to us from our earliest days. There is a lot of evidence to show that, when the conditions are right, human beings do not behave in an anti-social manner.

For example, there has recently been published the translation of Jens Bjerre's most interesting account of the latest Danish Kalahari Expedition, when he spent several months living with the Kung Bushmen at Samangeigai. This is what Mr. Bjerre says about the Bushmen's way of life:

"During the time we lived with the Bushmen, we never once witnessed a quarrel among them, which is surprising considering how close they live to each other and that they have to share everything together. The very fact that they live so intimately appears to give them a feeling of mutual dependence and confidence. . . . This natural feeling of solidarity within the clan begins in their childhood. Children are a kind of common possession. Even though mothers for preference look after

their own children, they are just as often to be seen looking after other children—even suckling them if the child is hungry and its own mother is not on the spot. The older children eat sometimes with one, sometimes with another family—according to where they happen to be when they are hungry and when food is ready. The whole settlement is their home. The children help to collect firewood and food for the older people who cannot travel far, and sometimes they even sleep alongside them to keep them warm at night.

From the example of their elders they learn the code of behaviour which is the foundation of the clan's unity; to share food and to assist each other in every way."

Mr. Bjerre concludes this paragraph by saying:

"We white people, surely, have now reached the stage—with our hydrogen bombs and rockets—when we also must choose between living at peace with each other or obliterating ourselves."

These Bushmen are primitive people—they are, in fact, probably the oldest surviving human race. But they know that, were they to adopt the very forms of behaviour which so many in our "civilised" society call unchangeable "human nature", they would destroy themselves. Humanity, also, will not willingly commit social suicide. The people of the world will establish Socialism because they want to live co-operatively, in a free and abundant society. They will, in fact, practice the "virtues" which the Kung Bushmen have kept up for so long.

E. C.

MAY DAY
Glasgow—London

see page 80

Finance & Industry

THE INCREASE IN ACCIDENTS

ELSEWHERE in this issue is a quotation from the SOCIALIST STANDARD May 1911 about the increase of accidents in industry in the years 1900 to 1907. The accident figures continued to increase and in 1913 reached 208,949, though the deaths had decreased to 1,091. Figures were not published during the 1914-1918 war. After the war, with some variations from year to year, the total in 1930 was 209,194, of which 842 were fatal. When a big decrease came in 1931 it was "due to . . . the continued depression in industry". Provisional figures for 1960 show 190,000 accidents, 665 being fatal. This was a big increase on 1959. According to the *Evening Standard* (30/3/61), "longer hours, harder work and the employment of more workers to help step up production are blamed by many experts for the steep rise in deaths and injuries at the factory bench or building site".

These figures relate only to factories and workshops. If the mines, railways and other industries are added, total deaths number about 1,300 or 1,400 a year, and the number injured is more than doubled. In the mines over 200,000 workers every year suffer injuries which disable them for more than three days. On the roads and railways a further 7,000 or more are killed each year and over 300,000 pedestrians, drivers and passengers injured. Over the whole field injuries have increased since 1938 by about 200,000 a year.

National Income

In the Spring of each year the Government publishes several documents dealing with the changes that have taken place in twelve months in production, trade, wages, profits and the national income and expenditure. Much of the newspaper comment consists merely of quoting impressive looking figures to support the theme that everything is getting very much better for everybody.

As many readers know very well that their own standard of living isn't changing much, if at all, doubtless the result is a growing disbelief in the accuracy of the figures themselves; which is rather hard on the civil servants concerned who take a deal of trouble to find the facts

and present them accurately. Much of the difficulty arises out of that ingrained capitalist habit of expressing nearly everything in terms of money and price; which is most misleading unless due allowance is made for the fact that prices can change, and for twenty years have been changing upwards. To say that expenditure on rent and rates increased between 1956 and 1960 by about £400 million a year does not mean that people were moving into larger or better houses but that they are paying more for the same house, and in many cases paying more for something worse.

When we apply this corrective to the figures showing that the national income jumped from about £5,000 million in 1938 to £20,000 million in 1960 we find that the real increase after discounting higher prices is somewhere in the region of fifty per cent. But because a larger proportion goes to the armed forces and armaments and to capital investment the real increase in the amount available for "consumers" goods and services, (food, clothing, housing, entertainment, travel, etc., etc.) has increased by a smaller amount, probably between 35 per cent and 40 per cent.

Then a further adjustment has to be made because this is spread over more people, the population having increased by over 5,000,000 since 1938. After allowing for this, the real increase per head of the population is about 25 per cent or 30 per cent, not at all a striking achievement for a period of twenty years, though quite a normal one for British capitalism. The way in which this modest advance has been made is also interesting. The increase is due as much to increased numbers of workers as to increased output through improved machinery and processes. Because unemployment is about one and a quarter million less than in 1938, and many more married women go out to work, and workers stay on to a later age, there are probably about four million more workers in civil employment than there were before the war.

And a final warning about averages. While many workers are rather better off than before the war (average industrial weekly wage rates having gained about 16 per cent on the price level for a somewhat shorter week) there are many

workers, especially clerical workers, who have actually lost ground.

Those High Wages

IN a press interview about the start of the graduated pension scheme the Minister of Pensions, Mr. John Boyd-Carpenter, gave figures that should be noted by those who believe that the £14 10s. 0d. a week average earnings of adult male workers in manufacturing and some other industries, are typical of the working class as a whole. He revealed that out of a total of about 21 million working men and women "there are approximately 6 million earning less than £9 a week . . ." (*Daily Herald* 29/3/61).

Willing to pay

THE following is from the *Evening Standard* (4/4/61):

Seven months ago I reported that the ground and first floor maisonette at Castlemaine House, the seven-storey block of flats which Mrs. Vera Lilley built at 21 and 22 St. James's Place, was in the market at £128,750, making it just about the most expensive home of its type in the world.

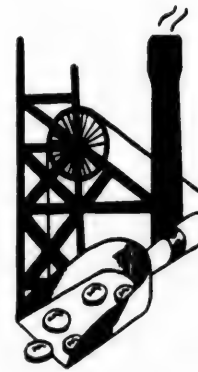
I now reveal who is to be the occupier of this home with its own garden backing on Green Park.

It is City banker, Mr. Walter H. Salomon, 54, who will move in with his wife, Kate, and two children in July. He is not buying the maisonette. He is renting it. Mrs. Lilley spent at least £30,000 on it. The study, drawing-room and library opening on to a terrace, are in antique pine panelling.

Each of the four bedrooms has a bathroom; there is a wrought-iron staircase, luxurious staff quarters and a huge kitchen.

The same issue of the *Evening Standard* reported that the Hampstead Council is cutting its housing list from 1,799 families to 1,328 families. The Chairman of the Committee is quoted as saying that he is agreeably surprised by the number they were able to eliminate because they have moved away or for other reasons.

Quite a few have left Hampstead. Others have either decided they have no



hope of getting Council accommodation or have found decent accommodation and are quite happy.

Nearly half of those still on the list "are in Category A—those in urgent need".

Slums for 100 years

THE housing problem, like the poor, is always with us under capitalism (which of course includes state-capitalist Russia). And always there are politicians "hastening" to do something about it. The *Evening Standard* (3/4/61) reports that "the L.C.C. wants to speed up the work of modernising their pre-1914-18 war blocks of flats", six thousand of which lack baths and have other defects. But there are obstacles, one of which is the "three-year wait" between approval of modernisation schemes and the actual start on the work.

Another problem is that they can't modernise the old flats unless they can re-house the people in them, and the Council can't speed up this work because their "commitments in slum-clearing and in trying to house families on the ordinary County Hall waiting lists."

So it is always a question of either the slum-clearing, or the modernisation, or the new houses, and this is in a year when the government can find it necessary to spend £1,500 million on armed forces and armaments as it has been doing certainly since the Labour Government's re-armament programme in 1951.

It is ironical to go back to the optimism of the reformers who started the movement to solve the housing and slum-clearance problem over a century ago. The late Harry Barnes, himself a well-known housing reformer, in his book *Housing*, published in 1923, tells of the first two pieces of legislation:

The first of these great personal measures was the Shaftesbury Act of 1851, which aimed at providing lodging houses for the working class in towns and populous districts. . . the next great step was taken in 1868, when the Terrans Act was

passed. This dealt with improvement or demolition of unfit houses and brought into prominence the second part of the Housing task, namely, in addition to the provision of new houses, the maintenance of the old.

The Minister of Housing, Mr. Brooke, has been having a go, and his enthusiasm induced the *Evening Standard* (28/3/61) to pen an editorial under the title "An Urgent Reform":

Slums are not always to be found in mean little streets. Sometimes they exist behind the decaying red brick walls of gaunt Victorian houses. And these, because they are frequently shielded from the public gaze, are the most difficult for authority to deal with.

Mr. Brooke, the Housing Minister, has been describing a visit to such a Victorian slum. He found three floors of utter squalor, cut up into flats without proper

kitchens or lavatories, and with a basement used by two women of, to say the least, rather doubtful probity.

Said Mr. Brooke: "I made up my mind then that when the chance came to strike against such conditions in the twentieth century I would strike hard."

We are told that this is an "urgent reform", one brought to light by Mr. Brooke's personal injunction. Of course the evil has been known to all who wanted to know it throughout Mr. Brooke's lifetime, and in the lifetime of his father and grandfather and great-grandfather.

As a postscript may we quote the dedication in Mr. Harry Barnes' book:

TO THE HOMELESS
One dwelling, one family
Every family, a dwelling.

H.

Wealth of Nations

Notes on Economic History (7)

SINCE England was the first country in which modern large-scale industry developed, it was only to be expected that capitalist political economy would appear and flourish here. The introduction of spinning machinery (Wyatt 1783, Lewis Paul 1741, Arkwright 1769); the steam engine (Watt 1765 and 1770); and later of the power loom (Cartwright 1785, Jacquard 1802); and similar transformations in the methods of industrial production, induced changes that led to an enormously accelerated growth of large scale industry.

Adam Smith was the man who, under these conditions, established a new system of economic doctrine. Smith spent three years in France, where he became known personally to the physiocrats, and was greatly influenced by them. For ten years after his return from France he devoted himself to economic study and to writing his book *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* published in 1776.

Adam Smith defines the wealth of a nation in the opening of his inquiry.

The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations.

To this he makes an important reservation. Labour which is not devoted to the production of useful things, which have an exchange value is to Smith unproductive. Thus, services of all kinds are unproductive. The wealth of a nation is greater accordingly as a larger proportion of its inhabitants are engaged in useful labour. This in turn depends upon the amount of capital devoted to the employment of workers (the wage fund), but above all, upon the productiveness of labour.

According to Smith the productiveness of labour is increased mainly by the division of labour. Consequently, the division of labour is the chief cause of prosperity. He illustrates this thesis by the many processes required for the manufacture of such a simple thing as a pin. The further the division of labour is carried, the more is production carried on with a view to marketing.

Now for the purpose of the market there must develop an acceptable means of exchange, or instrument of trade—in other words, money. Money, as explained by Smith, arises out of indirect exchange. Commodities are exchanged in the market by means of money as the medium of exchange, and thus originates an exchange-value or price of goods, as distinct from their use-value. We see, then, that the division of labour is the starting point of the economic process and its development; it is the cause of the exchange of goods, for no one can live upon the product of his own activity

But exchange is effected in accordance with exchange-value (price) and the exchange value is therefore decisive (a) for the distribution of the goods, since it settles the question who can buy them; and (b) for their production inasmuch as this is guided by the expectation of the price to be realised.

Upon this premise Adam Smith builds up his economic system, and so do all the capitalist schools that follow him. The laws that regulate the formation of exchange-value are held to be also laws in accordance with which the wealth of nations comes into being; they are, according to Smith, the primary laws of economic motion.

By formulating this conception of the nature of political economy, Smith made an important step forward in capitalist theory. He gave a new turn to economic thought. Whereas both the Mercantilists and the Physiocrats had made productive circulation the basis of their reasoning, now for the first time a study of the laws of exchange-value was undertaken. Thenceforward the theory of value and the theory of prices became the basis of economic theory in general. For since prices are the determinants of the production of goods, the law of prices decides what goods shall be produced; and since prices decide which would-be purchaser has sufficient purchasing power, the laws of prices are also the laws of distribution. In a word, the laws of price are also the laws of distribution. As a result, therefore, the theory of distribution is developed as a theory of particular prices (wages, rent, etc.).

R. A.

SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

The Struggle for Power in Laos

LAOS is at the present time the bone of contention between the United States and the Russians. President Kennedy has been shown on British T.V. threatening to use the might of the American armed forces to protect the democratic rights of Laos. He appears so young, forthright and sincere, but perhaps, after all, it would be just as well if we were to critically examine his claims that the U.S. stands for democracy in Laos whilst the Russian Government is attempting to undermine and destroy its work by Communism.

Civil war has been going on in the country since the middle nineteen fifties but has only become world news since Kennedy threatened to enter the fray openly with U.S. troops. Until now the U.S. has encouraged the Royalist faction but they have recently been opposed by another faction—Pathet-Lao.

What sort of people are these Laotians, who do not appear unanimous in appreciating the benefits of democracy?

Laos is part of an ancient civilisation overrun by the French at the time of the general European scramble for colonies and incorporated into their former colony of Indo-China. The people are simple and courteous—and deeply religious. But as so often happens when a whole community of people are caught in its grip, religion's ministers and precepts develop great influence. The population becomes more pious as their material poverty increases and they seek the excuse of dogma, creed or belief to explain their intellectual poverty. All totalitarian regimes are destructive of the things of the spirit of man, but of all totalitarianisms the clerical is probably the most harmful.

The factions never seem to have been compressed into any sort of seclusion. Relations between the sexes are free and easy and divorce is simple. Large numbers of half-castes have resulted from the occupation of the country by the French military. At the time of the Japanese defeat, the French asked H. M. Sasavang Vong to raise some levies to fight against the invader. He replied, very judiciously, "My people do not know how to fight, they know only how to sing and make love."

The Laotians believe in Little Vehicle Buddhism. They have no God. For them the Buddha is but the most emi-

nent of men. They hold to the literal interpretation of the Master's dying words:—"Be your own refuge. Man has no saviour but himself. The reward for right doing is not eternal life, but extinction and freedom from successive reincarnations." They are averse to taking life. Laotian soldiers who deliberately fired over one another's heads for fear of taking human life are gradually being taught by their "betters" to aim straight and kill.

U.S. v. U.S.S.R.

The country is torn with civil strife carried on with arms and ammunition provided by the Russian and American Governments. The U.S. bears the entire cost, \$40 million a year, of the Royalist army. The Russian back the other side, the Nationalist Pathet Lao.

The whole of Laos, both Pathet Lao and Royalist territories, are ruled by one ruling-class feudal family and this alone makes nonsense of Kennedy's claim that Pathet Lao must be opposed because they are communists.

The charge is absurd because the ruling-class of the Pathet Lao territory have never shown themselves to have particularly different ideas from their relatives who rule the Royalist territory. Pathet Lao are no more communist than the Royalist are democratic. Both sides of the family run the usual pattern of Asiatic feudalistic governments normal for undeveloped areas in that part of the world.

Prince Souphannavong, the Pathet Lao Leader, is half-brother to the Prime Minister of the Royalists. A third brother who lives in Siam acts as elder statesman to both sides. They are more concerned with exploiting their subjects, which they do with the inefficiency usual with that type of administration, than in theoretical and alien theories of communism and democracy. Pathet Lao and the Royalists are puppets of Russia and America, respectively.

Laos looms large in power politics because of her strategic importance—a long wedge one-third the size of France separating Vietnam from Siam in the American bloc.

In 1956 Laos and China signed a Treaty of "peace and neutrality" in Peking. In it the Kingdom of Laos de-

clared that no foreign military bases or installations are to be allowed on its territory. This was regarded as another failure for American policy in Asia and even a retrogression from the position already established at the time in Laos. For if Laos gets out of the clutches of America and really becomes independent, then it will drive a wedge between the two American bastions of South Viet-nam and Thailand.

If, on the other hand, the Chinese controlled Pathet Lao takes over the whole of the country, then Laos becomes a hostile wedge and S.E.A.T.O. (the American controlled South East Asian Treaty Organisation) becomes nullified for then the Chinese bloc will extend to the borders of Thailand which has a large resident Chinese fifth column.

But, apart from her strategic value, Laos is a so far almost untapped vast reservoir of wealth in coal, copper and tin. There are 204,000 sq. kilometres of valuable hardwood forests just waiting to be cut and exported. This must alone be worth fighting for, remembering that the British ruling-class squandered the health and lives of so many soldiers in fighting the Chinese nationalist insurgents for the tin and cash crops of Malaya a few years ago.

The struggle for Laos will bring greater power and wealth to one or other of the two great powers concerned. To the internal ruling-class it is already bringing wealth in the form of assistance amounting to millions each year. Whichever side wins, because each is the puppet of a capitalist overlord greedy for power and profits, capitalism will come to Laos in the form of mines, plantations of cash crops, and the development of industry. To enable capitalism to thrive there the Laotians will have to be shaken out of their lethargic happy state. This is an essential preliminary to present-day "development and prosperity." Happy workers contented with their existing standard of living are not satisfactory subjects for capitalism. How can they be induced to speed up and work overtime if they are already content with what they get? No! The wind of change is about to blow hard there.

In place of laughter, song, and making love, must come the tax collector, conscription, wage-slavery, the charge-hand, the foreman and the boss, hard work in the tropical heat, threats of the sack, piece work, bonus systems, overtime and ulcers. But for the budding Laotian ruling-class, there will be stocks and shares, rent, interest and profits.

F. OFFORD.

From an Austrian Comrade

Dear Friends,

DURING my work as professor of scholastic philosophy in Innsbruck I could not but dwell when occasion arose on my findings in *Das Kapital* in the course of my lectures. Certain students raised objections to my views and reported me to the authorities and I was eventually called to account for it. It should be remembered that no more than about 5 per cent of the students come from the working class; the bulk come from the propertied class with a more pronounced orthodox, bourgeois outlook than the sons and daughters of workers.

The former could not stomach my explanation of social phenomena and problems. I was asked to send in the manuscript of a brochure *The Social Question—Its Being, Origin and Solution*, which I had prepared. Soon afterwards, without warning or getting a chance of answering the charges, I was ordered forthwith to stop lecturing and publishing my writings, and suspended from service. It meant that I had to give up my living at Innsbruck and move to Vienna, where I was "graciously" given a small job and a pension many times less than would have been my due. As these gentlemen had it in their power to dismiss me unceremoniously, without any pension at all; I had to submit to these strictures and even be grateful for such "generosity and forbearance." I am now atoning for my sins.

All this happened in this boasted democratic welfare state Austria, while the "great socialist leader" Dr. Karl Renner was president of the country. (By the way, under his parliamentary presidency, there occurred in February 1934 the greatest defeat and disaster the Socialist Party of Austria ever suffered in the whole of its 60 year existence! The unsoundness of that party's policy is also glaringly demonstrated by Dr. Renner having voted for Hitler, as did also the catholic cardinal Dr. Innitzer!).

As a result of Press reports of a conference of "socialist catholics" in November 1959, at which I gave a lecture on Marxism, I received a letter from comrade Frank, expressing a desire to meet me. We subsequently had some talks, and I also had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of his son on a visit to Vienna, when we had a most interesting and heartening discussion.

Through comrade Frank I learned of the existence of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and its companion parties in the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Ireland, and the great work they are doing to spread the glorious message of socialism throughout the world against terrific odds. Not the smallest obstacle is the dull apathy of the masses of the working class, who seem to use their undoubted talents for nothing but making profit for, and increasing the wealth of, their masters.

Comrade Frank has also made available to me copies of your publications

SOCIALIST STANDARD

1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

and those of the companion parties, which I am assiduously studying and tremendously enjoying. Let me express my deep admiration for the fine work of so many devoted comrades. A group of workers in the English-speaking world saw through the monstrous nature of capitalism and saw the way out of its quagmire years before the first world-war, and started, in the S.P.G.B., a revolutionary movement. It does not speak well for the political intelligence of the workers of this Continent that even after two world-wars, a number of smaller wars, civil wars, and other appalling human tragedies brought about by the mercenary commercial rivalry between the workers' exploiters, only so few have so far realized that nothing but the overthrow of the imbecile system of capitalism, and its replacement by a system of production for USE (instead of for profit) can save mankind from further and even greater disasters.

And now a word on the false friends and the betrayal of the Marxian teaching.

MOTOR WORKERS' TROUBLES DIAGNOSED NEARLY A CENTURY AGO!

"The enormous power inherent in the factory system, of expanding by jumps, and the dependence of that system on the markets of the world, necessarily beget feverish production, followed by over-filling of the markets, whereupon contraction of the markets brings on crippling of production. The life of modern industry becomes a series of periods of moderate activity, prosperity, over-production, crisis and stagnation. The uncertainty and instability to which machinery subjects the employment, and consequently the conditions of existence, of the operations become normal, owing to these periodic changes of the industrial cycle. Except in the periods of prosperity, there rages between the capitalists the most furious combat for the share of each in the markets. This share is directly proportional to the cheapness of the product. Besides the rivalry that this struggle begets in the application of improved machinery for replacing labour-power, and of new methods of production, there also comes a time in every industrial cycle, when a forcible reduction of wages beneath the value of labour-power, is attempted for the purpose of cheapening commodities."

KARL MARX, Capital, Vol. 1. Allen and Unwin, page 455, Chapter 15.

If the bankruptcy of the big self-styled "socialist" parties and their betrayal of scientific socialism were already clear when Dr. Karl Renner declared that two of the largest world-empires, namely the Russian and the British Empire, were under the leadership of the working-class and that socialism was close at hand, the leaders of these pseudo-socialist/communist parties have now sunk the last vestige of the revolutionary content of Marxist theory by finally and completely identifying themselves everywhere with the avowed capitalist parties. These parties have been absorbed by the State, and their leaders are only vying with one another for the well-paid jobs in the government and administration. I remember that the well known English labour leader Attlee, when his party held power in 1947, declared that there was no coherent alternative policy to that of the Labour Party and that the opposition was bankrupt in ideas. Just as Attlee and the Labour Party, after suffering three successive defeats and seeing power being taken over by the Conservatives, must eat their words, so Dr. Renner lived to see his ridiculous assertion belied, for it must be evident to even the politically little informed that the Russian workers are today unfortunately as far away from socialism as their English brothers.

Anybody looking at the Socialist Party of Austria today will discover hardly a remnant of revolutionary spirit. What it really does can at best be described as

a kind of leftist bourgeois reform politics—no more. Anybody observing the attitude of their leaders must come to this conclusion. At three successive presidential elections the "socialist" candidate was elected President of Austria, and he is at the same time Commander-in-Chief of the Army!

There is also its position to the various Church organisations. The early Party always laid it down that "religion is a private matter. Now it has made peace with the churches. It now even recognizes the Dollfus Concordat (concluded on May 1st 1934 between Austria and the Vatican), although it had previously refused to do so. Even the financial claims of the Church are being recognised (church property and estate confiscated under Josef II returned to the Catholic church, plus hundred million schillings annually). It does this in the hope of getting votes. Whether this hope will materialise is more than doubtful, as despite its readiness to make these concessions, the Socialist Party of Austria is now as in the past turned down by the church.

On the occasion of the annual Conference of your party I send fraternal greetings to all delegates and other participants, and hearty wishes that your great efforts for the spreading of revolutionary socialism may bear further good fruit. We here shall continue to add our bit to the furtherance of the great cause.

Yours for Socialism,
Vienna

J. K.

MORRIS & CO

At the Victoria and Albert Museum in April there was to be seen an Exhibition, Morris & Company 1861—1940. On show were specimens of textiles, tapestries, wall papers, etc., produced by the firm of which William Morris was chief partner and designer. These art and craft products are considered to be the most artistic of their period. But such fine work was not for the homes of the great multitude, as Exhibit 61 (an order book) quite clearly showed.

Looking at this exhibition there was nothing to indicate that for the last 13 years of Morris' life he worked full speed in the Socialist movement of his day as shown in these words in his essay *How I became a Socialist* (1894). "But the consciousness of revolution stirring amidst our hateful society prevented me, luckier than many others of artistic perceptions, from crystallizing into a mere railer against 'progress' on the one hand,

and on the other from wasting time and energy in any of the numerous schemes by which the quasi-artistic of the middle classes hope to make art grow when it has no longer any roots, and thus I became a practical Socialist."

These words from the chief partner and designer of the Morris firm indicate that under capitalism "Art for the People" is just a phrase but that under Socialism where goods will be produced for use and not for profit Art will be a part of daily life and work in such ways as a free people living in a democratically owned and controlled society wish.

Morris wrote a number of essays and gave lectures on Art and Socialism. Our pamphlet No. 3 *Art, Labour & Socialism* was a clear statement on the subject and it is possible that before long we may republish it, it having been out of print for many years now.

E. K.

LISA BRYAN

Lisa Bryan tragically died on March 29th at the age of 32. The previous evening she had been working at the Party Head Office finalising arrangements for the Conference Rally. This was typical of Lisa. Joining in 1947, her life in the Party had been one of ceaseless activity, serving on occasions as Central Organiser, Party Auditor, Executive Committee member, and finally (a job she held for over 10 years) on the Propaganda Committee.

She excelled in this work but regarded it as no more than a necessary duty. Her element was that of socialist propaganda, and as a speaker and occasional writer for the SOCIALIST STANDARD, she found the most satisfaction.

She had a fine, resonant voice, and it was a pleasure to listen to her. At street corner meetings the slim, attractive girl on the SPGB platform, clearly enunciating the socialist case, commanded respect. In the lecture hall, her material was thoroughly prepared and delivered with economy. Her learning was wide and deep, yet she was severely critical of her own ability.

Perhaps this provides a clue to Lisa Bryan's rare quality. Many women, unfortunately, still accept and delight in playing the rôle of the "second" sex. Not Lisa! She expected to be treated as an equal and the standard she set for herself was the highest. Hence the exacting demands she often made on herself.

In her Branch (Paddington), at Conferences and in internal Party discussions, her counsel was calm and constructive. Her tongue could also be sharp. The speaker who failed to attend a scheduled meeting, the literature secre-



WILLIAM MORRIS

Art for Everyone

Unless something or other is done to give all men some pleasure for the eyes and rest for the mind in the aspect of their own and their neighbours' houses, until the contrast is less disgraceful between the fields where beasts live and the streets where men live, I suppose the practice of the arts must be mainly kept in the hands of a few highly cultivated men, who can go often to beautiful places, whose education enables them, in the contemplation of the past glories of the world, to shut out from their view the everyday squalors that most men move in. Sirs, I believe that art has such sympathy with cheerful freedom, openheartedness and reality, so much she sickens under selfishness and luxury, that she will not live thus isolated and exclusive. I will go further than this and say that on such terms I do not wish her to live. I protest that it would be a shame to an honest artist to enjoy what he had huddled up to himself of such art, as it would be for a rich man to sit and eat dainty food amongst starving soldiers in a beleaguered fort.

I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few.

★

From "The Lesser Arts," first given as a lecture in 1877, and included in "William Morris—Selected Writings," Nonesuch Press.]

PADDINGTON BRANCH.

What Can I Do?

- ★ Get Newsagents to sell the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Subscriptions for the Socialist Standard
- ★ Get Libraries to display the Socialist Standard
- ★ Persuade friends and workmates to buy the Socialist Standard
- ★ Sell and Display the Socialist Standard everywhere

BOOKS

The Influence of Television

Television and the Political Image by Joseph Trenaman and Denis McQuail, Methuen, 30s.



DURING the last few years, a new word has crept into the English language. Psephology is the name given to the business of putting voters under the microscope and probing their innermost electoral reflexes. Where once people simply voted at election time, now every cross must be checked and analysed.

We might have expected that television would come into this. No self-respecting psephologist can ignore a communication medium which four-fifths of the population have access to. 1955 was the first television election, although at that time sound broadcasting was still dominant. 1959 was different; apart from the enormous increase in the number of T.V. sets, both channels broke with past practice by putting out such programmes as the B.B.C.'s "Hustings" and Granada's "Election Marathon".

What were the effects of this? Did, for example, any votes change sides because of the parties' broadcasts on T.V?

Did television affect attendance at political meetings, the number of party workers and so on? A Research Unit at Leeds University (working on a Granada grant) tried to find answers to these, and other, questions. They closely studied the campaign on television and at the same time sampled political opinion among the voters in the two Yorkshire constituencies of Pudsey and West Leeds. *Television and the Political Image* reports their findings.

The authors conclude that television had little effect on the outcome of the 1959 election. Partisan programmes were not as well received as those which hid their propaganda under an informative camouflage. The professional slickness

of the Labour Party programmes, which so irked the newspaper reviewers, was not generally resented. Whatever knowledge the viewers had on the issues of the campaign tended to increase as a result of their watching television.

The specific validity of such conclusions may be open to argument. But the overall picture of the voter which emerges from them seems fairly accurate: somebody who is mostly bored with politics and who, when an election stirs him to vote, does so in accordance with his hitherto sleeping prejudices.

Television and the Political Image is not light reading, and it is loaded with statistical tables and graphs which demand close study. Doubtless, we shall see many more such works, for if the power-conscious parties can find out why the working class vote as they do, they are a long way towards winning an election. If Trenaman and McQuail are any guide, Labour's problem in 1959 was to convince everybody that their promises were not rash bribery. The Tories, it seems, must still work hard to persuade us that they really care about the aged and the needy.

This is a dirty game. And the psephologist, busily adding up his figures to discover the reasons for the working class preferring one type of capitalist subjection to another, does not make it any cleaner.

IVAN.

LABOUR AND THE HEALTH CHARGES

It is evident that the Labour Party see in the new health service charges a much needed political "shot in the arm" for themselves. Amid much hullabaloo and many late night sittings, the advocates of a "controlled economy" have let it be known that at last they have found something in the Conservative Party's running of capitalism with which they disagree. The trouble the Labour Party now seem to be faced with is to get the different factions within the Party to recognise that a united Labour Party, "championing the cause of the poor and needy", is likely to pay far better political dividends than anything in the nuclear armament or disarmament range. Hence the recent almost frantic attempts to patch up the differences that exist within the party on these issues.

More and more it becomes obvious that far from being the vehicle of socialist ideas, either now or ultimately, the Labour Party has no ideas on the running of capitalism that differ fundamentally from those of the more generally recognised parties of the system. Thus,

instead of being able to make a concentrated attack on the government-imposed charges on the health service, Mr. Gaitskell and Co. have been forced to defend the last Labour Government who set the example by themselves imposing such charges.

The capitalist press, who regard a lively opposition party (so long as it does not oppose capitalism) as a necessity of "democracy", rejoiced when for the first time since Suez the Labour Party found something in government policy about which to wax indignant.

Not satisfied with the impact of the "health" charges, the *Daily Herald* and later Mr. George Brown, Labour's deputy leader, in a party political broadcast, have attempted to blow the affair up as the beginning of a major attack on what they call the social services. This view is given some support by the demand of a group of Conservatives for a charge to be put on State education. The debates which have followed the introduction of the "health" bills have been given wide coverage in the press.

and read like the script of a farce—though a farce with grim undertones for the working class. Once again Labour Party spokesmen exposed their pathetic lack of understanding of the economics of capitalism and the basic hypocrisy of a party which, while claiming working class sympathies, seeks to administer the system which enslaves them.

Using the Korean War as the excuse for the Labour government's own health service charges, Mr. Brown merely demonstrated how the stresses and strains of capitalism's economic and military rivalries always seem to thwart the upholders of the "planned economy" from easing the burden of wage slavery.

While the call for a curb on the profits of drug manufacturers may bring support to the Labour Party from any

capitalists who see benefit to themselves from such a move, workers should remember that these profits have been made ever since the health service started. It was not noticeably Labour policy when in office to relate profit to the plight of workers in the way they now seek to do. Unfortunately for the Labour Party, workers are liable to remember Sir Stafford Cripps' wage freezing policies, and the Labour government's support of a "reasonable" rate of profit as necessary to the interests of the "controlled economy".

Socialists have never supported these so-called social services, seeing in them nothing but an endeavour on the part of capitalism's administrators to give the master class the cheapest and most efficient labour force possible, under the conditions prevailing at the time.

E. COFFEY.

ABUNDANCE AND POVERTY

SOME time ago, under the above caption, the now defunct *News Chronicle*, in a leading article, asked "is it really beyond the wit of man to devise a means of sharing out more fairly the world's bounty?" This was by no means the first challenge to society to meet the paradox of want in the midst of plenty, and the report that to-day, in Toronto, thousands of children are starving, provides ample evidence that the challenge has not been met.

The statement comes from Dr. Morris Zeidman, a Presbyterian minister who runs the Scott Mission, which has "opened its doors to feed the hungry children of the city's unemployed." Referring to a woman who could not drink the soup provided, a mission worker said, "Some of these people have been subsisting on so little that they now find it hard to stomach ordinary food" (*The Guardian* 10/3/61).

Is this, we may ask, part of the heritage of freedom for which members of the working class fought and died in two of the bloodiest wars in history? Must people go without the basic essentials of life at a time when productivity has increased to heights never known before? When man was the slave of nature, shortage and want could be explained in something like intelligent terms, but to-day, when his productive capacities are virtually unlimited, he must find some other answer.

Thirteen years ago, Lord Boyd Orr, then Director-General of the World Food and Agriculture Organisation,

could say "There was no difficulty about producing food for the present population of the world, or even twice that number, but the problem was, could politics and economics arrange that the food that was produced was dispersed in the countries that needed it?" Seven years later, the Oxford economist, Mr. Colin Clark, remarked that in two years no authority had disagreed with Professor Dudley Stamp, who pointed out that if Danish agricultural standards were to be practised on the available cultivable land, there would be enough food produced to give an excellent diet to probably seven times the world's present population.

What Lord Boyd Orr and Mr. Colin Clark failed to recognise, or at least make no mention of, is the fact that however capable man may be of producing wealth, it is ultimately the question of ownership which decides whether or not he will partake of that wealth. Food, like every other commodity in our modern world, is produced primarily for profit, and the fact that it eventually may satisfy hungry children in Toronto or elsewhere is incidental and of secondary importance.

The answer to the *News Chronicle's* question will not be found in the speeches of politicians and economists; if it could, the question would not be asked after a century of Parliamentary Statutes and fact-finding Commissions, designed to reform capitalist society in the interest of those who make it tick.

A. F.

BRANCH NEWS continued from page 80

sation—even the worst weather is not a bar to getting on with the job! One of the Paddington Comrades, in an effort to preserve the literature, wrapped individual copies in cellophane for protection. It is hoped also that the handbills (which were also distributed) advertising the April 19th meeting at St. Pancras Town Hall, will prove equally successful.

COVENTRY GROUP

Coventry members are still very active and are in contact with Birmingham Branch with a view to holding some joint outdoor meetings in Birmingham during the summer. The Group members regularly attend political meetings, take part in discussion and then sell *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* outside the meeting places. For a small group this is very good work and the Group members are hoping that their various contacts will, in the not too far distant future, enable them to form a Coventry Branch.

CENTRAL BRANCH

The Central Branch Secretary would very much like to hear from Comrades A. Bowley and C. J. Hutton. Correspondence has been returned from their addresses, without details of change.

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

A full report of our successful meeting in St. Pancras will unfortunately have to be held over until next month. We can nevertheless give the essential details. An audience of 400, plenty of questions and lively discussion, and a collection of over £25. All concerned have good reason to be pleased with such a fine result to their efforts—on such a miserably wet night too!

P.H.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4



Branch News

meetings as the London Comrades will be doing—rain or shine. See that every effort is made to DEMONSTRATE FOR SOCIALISM.

MAY DAY, 1961

May Day is being held on Sunday, May 7th, and the Party is arranging to hold as many meetings as possible to make more well known the case for Socialism. In London, at Hyde Park, in the afternoon Party members will gather to support the meeting and there will be three speakers. The platform will be in a prominent position on the grass. At 7.30 p.m. there will be an indoor rally at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road (near Victoria Station). At both these meetings, the support of as many comrades and sympathisers as possible will add to the success of the demonstration.

In Glasgow, at Queen's Park, meetings will be held, followed by an indoor Rally at St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street. So, Glasgow Comrades, turn out to support the

TRAFALGAR SQUARE EASTER MONDAY

Despite drenching rain and *cold, grey skies, comrades of the Socialist Party of Great Britain dauntlessly and enthusiastically rallied round and showed their worth by turning out—at least fifty in number, to sell literature at the termination of the C.N.D. Easter march in Trafalgar Square. Some comrades were at the Albert Memorial and others at the Square. Their efforts resulted in the sale of literature to the extent of £13 14s. 4d.—350 SOCIALIST STANDARDS and 89 War pamphlets. In addition 5,000 Nuclear leaflets were distributed, resulting (up to the time of going to press) in ten enquiries for more information about the Party, and five requests, with Postal orders

for War pamphlets. Among these enquiries were requests from Montrose in Scotland and Aberdare in Wales. This was a first-class effort on the part of Party comrades and proves that with enthusiasm and organi-

(continued page 79)

Meetings

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 p.m.

East Street, Walworth

May 7th & 24th (11am)

May 14th (1 p.m.)

May 21st (noon)

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 p.m.

BRISTOL

Durdam Downs,

Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m.

EALING LECTURE

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing
Broadway 8 pm

Friday May 19th

"THE JEHOVAH WITNESS"

Speaker : J. Law

MITCHAM LECTURE

The White Hart, Cricket-Green, Mitcham

Thursday May 18th, 8 pm

"CASTRO AND HIS CRITICS"

Speaker : E. Grant

PADDINGTON LECTURE

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1

Wednesday May 10th, 9 pm

"WILLIAM MORRIS'S
VIEW OF SOCIALISM"

Speaker : I. Jones

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist
Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street,
London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son
Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

2.30-6 pm

HYDE PARK RALLY

Speakers: Ambridge, D'Arcy, Bryant, Young

7.30 pm

DENISON HOUSE, VICTORIA, SW1

INTERNATIONALISM— NOT NATIONALISM

Speakers: Baldwin, Grant, Lake

Sunday May 7th

London

London Glasgow

2.30-6 pm

QUEENS PARK RALLY

Speakers: Donnelly, May, Shaw

7.30 pm

ST. ANDREWS HALL MID HALL, DOOR G

IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE

Speakers: May, Donnelly

Glasgow

JUNE 1961

SOCIALIST STANDARD

► *The Algerian tragedy continues its melancholy course. We know that history - the inexorable demands of capitalism, will catch up with Algeria, as it will with East Africa, Angola, and South Africa*



An Algerian being searched for arms before casting his vote—January 1961

- 85 *Moral Rearmament*
- 92 *King Capital's Crowning*
- 94 *Waste Making*
- 89 *Rocking the Boat*
- 84 *Cuban Failure*

WHAT NEXT IN ALGERIA?

see page 83

6^p OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (1st & 15th June) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholmoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 2nd June at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th June at 32 Ickleton Road, Motingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Carr at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: H. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (12th June) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (City) Alternates Wednesdays (7th & 21st June) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulharon, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kahingrove) Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Blackfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (5th & 19th June) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Hes, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2 Denison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Correspondence: SPGB, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.F.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternates Wednesdays (7th & 21st May) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ledbrooke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (12th & 26th June) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (5th & 19th June) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynhill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th & 22nd June) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th & 23rd June) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eatham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 15th June 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAJ 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. Post paid



SOCIALIST STANDARD

JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Telephone Macaulay 3811

June 1961 Vol 57 No 682

CONTENTS

84 News in Review

Man in Space
Golden Boys
Cuban Failure
Stags Rampant

85 Myth of Moral Rearmament

86 Socialist Principles

87 The Passing Show

88 Jehovah's Servants

89 Rocking the Boat

91 Adam Smith's Theories

91 Correspondence

92 King Capital's Coronation

92 Finance and Industry

Ownership
Manufacturer's Dream
Views of Inflation
Which Horse?

93 Monkeys of the World Unite

94 Books: Waste Making

95 Workers Prosperity in 1961

96 Branch News & Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

What next in Algeria?

THE ALGERIAN TRAGEDY continues its melancholy course. Rising to high drama at one moment, it topples over into anti-climax and something often close to farce the next.

We are still too near to the event to know the full story of the "four days" last April. In fact, it is likely that we shall never know, so complex are its ramifications, so inextricably is it caught up in a web of intrigue, treachery, and fanaticism, so overlaid with high-sounding idealism and underlaid with the basest self-seeking.

Regardless of speculation de Gaulle proceeds at full speed to implement the plans he has been working towards ever since he came to power in 1958. The Army has played into his hands, its morale and self-confidence shattered, at least for the moment. The way has been left wide open to the objective he has sworn to achieve before he dies—the "decolonisation" (he uses the word as though he was talking of getting rid of a disease) of France. But he will need to move fast.

Wiser to the ways of the world of modern capitalism and more far-seeing than many of the ruling-class he represents, he sees the march of events and where they are leading. He knows that no Power in the modern world can hold on to its possessions according to the old imperialist traditions of the past. In the three years of his administration almost the whole of the former French empire has been granted independence. Of the former important territories of that empire, only Algeria remains. And, says de Gaulle, with that characteristically withering turn of phrase, devoid alike of delusion and sentiment, "l'Algérie de Papa est morte"—"Daddy's Algeria is dead".

Daddy's Algeria may well be dead, but nobody knows what the new one will be like. De Gaulle is staking all on an independent Algeria still within the orbit and influence of French capitalism, as he has successfully achieved with the great majority of the other former French territories. What is supremely important now for the French ruling-class is to retain their control over the Saharan oilfields and the vast deposits of natural gas, not to speak of the mineral wealth they also hope to discover in the future.

That is the hope. But there are many perils and possible pitfalls ahead. Nobody can say what the talks at Evian between the French and the F.L.N. will bring. Nobody knows what the European settlers will do, particularly the fanatics among them—there is already evidence that these latter are prepared to go to any lengths to frustrate de Gaulle's plans. Nor does anybody have any real idea of what is in the minds of the leaders of the F.L.N., preoccupied for seven years in fighting a bitter war and now faced with sitting round a conference table. There is still a terrible possibility that the next news to come out of Algeria will be of carnage and devastation as to make even the last seven years of its sufferings only a prelude in comparison.

We know that history, by which we mean in this case the inexorable demands of capitalism, will catch up with Algeria, as it will with East Africa, Angola, and South Africa.

But what a terrible price it will have exacted in human suffering by the time it does so.

- ★ THE SPACE RACE
- ★ CUBA v U.S.A.
- ★ LADY CHATTERLEY

Man in Space

RUSSIA'S daring young man did all the right things, at the right time.

Sent looping around the Earth, he sang a patriotic song: ("The motherland hears, the motherland sees, the motherland knows . . ."). On the rostrum beside Mr. Khrushchev, he was the star turn at this year's Moscow May Day parade.

Gagarin's exploit, Commander Shepard's flight, and the arrival of the Russian Venus rocket shot, have put spaceships right back in the news. Such things are interesting, not to say exciting—but have they been worth anything?

We all know that Russia and the United States are feverishly applying the knowledge which their space probes give them to the production of more accurate missiles. Some of these were paraded before Gagarin in the Red Square on May Day.

Without a doubt, the quest for more accurate and more powerful weapons is the main incentive in the space programmes of the great powers.

Incidentally, they may also gain knowledge which has little or no military value. But there is no guarantee that even this will not one day be misused.

There is one thing the space shots have to teach everybody. Capitalist society is bound to distort human knowledge for inhuman ends. Scientific investigation can only come into its own when this world is sanely organised.

Golden Boys

80,000 POUNDS is an awful lot of money.

We may think that the Milan Football Club, who paid that amount to

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Chelsea for Jimmy Greaves, have a millionaire somewhere behind them.

They have. So have Juventus, Naples and other Italian clubs. This is why they can afford such enormous wage bills, and can offer irresistible financial bait to British footballers.

Greaves put it on record that he did not want to leave England, but Milan were offering him such a high signing-on fee that he really had no choice in the matter.

Helpless, the English fans moan as their golden boys take off for sunnier lands. They blame the clubs, the Football League, the Italians, for being a lot of poachers.

But the millions who weekly cheer their favourite club, support, almost to a man, the social system in which whoever pays the most money takes the best choice. They can hardly complain when that principle is extended to football.

Because, whatever the match programme may say, football is not a sport. When we hear it discussed in terms of transfer fees, gate money and the rest, we know that it is as much a business as any gas works or marmalade factory.

Cuban Failure

WHATEVER happened to that nice, level-headed young man Mr. Kennedy?

When he was campaigning for the United States Presidency he seemed so calm, so cool tempered. He sounded so peaceable. Lots of Republicans, in fact, thought that he might want to be too soft on the Russians.

The invasion of Cuba changed all that. President Kennedy inherited the plans for the landing which the Eisenhower administration had laid. He chose to go ahead with them—and when the inva-

sion failed, with typical acumen, he pointed out that his predecessor must take part of the blame.

This is the sort of ruthlessness and cynicism which we have come to expect from capitalism's leaders. And we have grown familiar with the assurances, as they are climbing to power, that they are anything but ruthless and cynical men.

Each time, the working class fall for it. Kennedy promised an era of sanity and calm judgment in foreign policy. In their millions, American workers voted for him.

Will they profit from the lessons of reality? Probably not. The signs are that Kennedy will be reviled not so much for agreeing to the Cuban expedition, as for the fact that the whole thing was a flop.

Ignorantly patriotic, the working class will forgive almost anything but that.

Stags Rampant

How did the strait-laced City Editors of Fleet Street come to be making jokes about Lady Chatterley?

Penguin Books recently announced a record profit, for which the trial—and the sales—of Lady C. can take much of the credit. At the same time, Penguin offered £450,000 worth of shares to the public, the more prosperous of whom applied for them to the tune of £67 million.

Now a lot of the people who tried to get Penguin shares are known, in Stock Exchange jargon, as stags. Hence the little jokes about gamekeepers, and Lady C., in the City columns.

The stags have been rampant lately, in shares other than the Penguin issue. They specialise in going for shares which can be easily applied for—sometimes by

completing a newspaper coupon—and which are likely to rise quickly on the Stock Exchange. Some of them apply many times over for the same shares.

The snag is that the stags often pay up

with bouncy cheques. The idea is to sell the shares at a profit before the cheques have had time to be cashed.

This is the sort of speculative boom which preceded the 1929 crash. Many sage economists have since told us that

it aggravated matters in 1929—and that it could never happen again.

But whoever heard of investors refusing the chance of a profit? The stags have shown that capitalism is the same old animal as ever was.

The Myth of Moral Rearmament

MORAL REARMAMENT—that high pressure political religious movement—has been making quite a lot of noise lately. The premier of its latest film, *The Crowning Experience*, was shown a few weeks ago in the West End of London. Full page advertisements have caught the reader's eye in such respectable newspapers as *The Guardian* and *The Times*. According to Ivan Yates in *The Observer*, this publicity offensive represents their most sustained effort yet for support in Britain. A costly campaign it is, too, and quite clearly the wherewithal is not lacking.

Just what then is Moral Rearmament? When and where did it begin? Just what are its aims? The outstanding name of the movement is, of course, Doctor Frank Buchman; it was he who officially launched the movement in 1938 at East Ham Town Hall.

Buchman was born on June 4th, 1878 in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania. Alan Thornhill, in a brief chapter at the beginning of the book of Dr. Buchman's speeches (*Remaking the World*), talks glowingly, almost gushingly, of his chief's Swiss ancestry, of his folk brought up "with democracy in their blood"—whatever that may mean. Very religious people, too, with a love of life.

Buchman's conversion came when he was visiting Keswick, Cumberland, during a holiday on doctor's instructions. He entered a little church and listened to the service and suddenly he was aware of his own faults. " . . . Something fresh had come into his life, something which was to determine its whole course. . . ." He sent letters of apology to the members of the board of a children's home against whom he had harboured ill-feeling and was then all set to carry his ideas to practically every part of the globe. This practice of apology is common to all converts to Moral Rearmament—one might call it their initial humbling and an invaluable experience in their subsequent efforts to make others humble too.

Dr. Buchman's movements are vague during these earlier years, but we do know that his activities were to lead to

the formation of the Oxford Group in 1928, when a number of Rhodes scholars and other Oxford students were given this name after a propaganda visit to South Africa. Moral Rearmament was launched ten years later, in face of the threat of the second world war. "The crisis is fundamentally a moral one. The nations must rearm morally." Such was the new cry, and perhaps here was the beginning of the political side of the movement which was to be more obvious later.

"It is not an organisation; it is an organism," Dr. Buchman is never tired of telling us. MRA has no formal membership, no such thing as signing the pledge. It holds its meetings and congresses, and publishes lashings of literature, and when a person has received the message loud and clear, he becomes "changed" and supports the movement. And what support this movement has, although *The Observer* article of March 26th claims that there has been disappointment at a recent falling away of influence in England. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is a considerable zeal and enthusiasm among Moral Rearmamenters, many of whom have given every penny they possessed and have surrendered themselves completely to the task of spreading the message.

So just what is there in Moral Rearmament to fire people with such energetic conviction that they are prepared in many cases (not all), to change their way of life? To say that it is a religious movement is to state the obvious, and as with religion generally, there is a vagueness which the high powered techniques and sweeping statements fail to mask, in fact, serve only to accentuate. Gabriel Marcel, for example, talks airily of a "community life based on faith" and that last word gives the reason for the vagueness. It must be so, because its basic assumption of the existence of the supernatural has not one jot of scientific evidence to support it.

This is not to doubt the sincerity of the bulk of "Buchmanites," of course. As Geoffrey Williamson points out in

his illuminating book *Inside Buchmanism*, just to talk to them is to see how fervent and conscientious they can be. Aware of the terrible problems of modern society, and lacking the essential knowledge of their origin, such people are comparatively easy meat for such movements as Moral Rearmament. Or, to put it a little more kindly, they turn to Moral Rearmament for the answer.

And what are they told? That the world's evils are created by man's selfishness and greed. That only when the world's people "listen to God" and become guided by Him, will we have harmony in the human family. Dr. Buchman has made assertions repeatedly for well over twenty years. For example:

When God has control, a nation finds its true destiny. (Massachusetts, U.S.A., 4.6.36.)

The world awaits an inspired answer from statesmen as well as the ordinary man . . . guided . . . by that added help which sees and recognises the Supreme Plan. (Interlaken, Switzerland, 2.9.38.)

As men listen to God and obey His orders, nations find a pattern that makes plain God's will for Government. (Caux, Switzerland, 4.6.47.)

Go all the way with God and you will bring the answer to your nation. . . . (Mackinac Island, U.S.A., 4.6.58.)

Their insistence on absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, makes strange reading when it is remembered that they supported the Allied war effort from 1939-1945. Which just goes to show how relative their "absolute" standards can be when the occasion demands. With the outbreak of war, as Geoffrey Williamson puts it, the word "patriotism" began to appear in the M.R.A. vocabulary, and although the movement came under fire in some quarters on the grounds of army-dodging, the more astute capitalist politicians, particularly in America, were quick to recognise it as a stimulant to the war effort.

"Moral Rearmament is a message of the highest patriotism. It gives every American the chance to play his part."

Wednesday 19th July 7.30 pm

MASS SOCIALIST RALLY
CONWAY HALL RED LION SQUARE, WCI

Full details July "Standard"

said Dr. Buchman at Philadelphia, June 4th, 1941. And to prove it, written and spoken propaganda were stepped up. They even produced a National Defence Handbook *You Can Defend America*, and its transatlantic counterpart *Battle Together for Britain*. In England alone, they claim to have distributed some five million books and pamphlets during the war.

In the post-war years, an openly political note has sounded in M.R.A. propaganda with a heavy "anti-Communist" bias. They have claimed verbal support from such leading statesmen as Dr. Adenauer and Robert Schuman, and some following seems to have been captured in the new Capitalist States like Burma. Sweeping claims have been made for the success of their ideas in the field of international politics, and it is then that charges which have recently been levelled at them seem to have most force. Just listen, for example, to extracts from *Fresh Hope for the World*, edited by Gabriel Marcel:

... We have seen how men and also a nation (Japan) have found a fresh realization of their true destiny (p. 208.)

Already the main features of a new society are emerging (p. 209).

The African Nations are giving... tangible evidence of their experience of Moral Rearmament (p. 209).

And perhaps most pathetic of all in view of recent events:

Even the most entrenched prejudices yield to this new conception... In S. Africa black men who have led the struggle for the defence of their people's rights... and white men of the most extremist outlook... in uniting, bring to the world a new conception of racial relations (p. 210).

True, M.R.A. has supporters in many countries and is not without influence, but it is about as useless as any other reformist movement and shows the same ignorance of the world of Capitalism.

On the industrial field, M.R.A. has served only to worsen confusion in workers' minds and blind them still further to their interests. It has intervened quite openly in strikes and helped to deflect efforts at securing better wages and conditions at perhaps the most

favourable time—in the immediate post war years. In June, 1948, the Warwickshire mineworkers' president is said to have claimed that M.R.A. had given "real teamwork and better output" in the British Coal Industry, while in 1952, a French Iron and Steel Boss paid tribute to the part M.R.A. ideas had played in securing an agreement with his workers to forego wage increases for four years. And again, said the late John Riffe, former U.S. labour chief, "Tell America that when Frank Buchman changed John Riffe he saved American industry 500 million dollars."

What a tragedy indeed that many workers should have been sufficiently gullible to fall for this gigantic fallacy that is Moral Rearmament. Quite openly they are discouraged from thinking for themselves and are told only to "tune in" to some mythical God, Spirit, Intelligence—call it what you will. To be swayed by such pernicious doctrine is to surrender all right to independent thought and become particularly susceptible to any earthly dictator glib enough to convince his followers of his "God-given authority." Signs of this danger can be detected in Dr. Buchman's own words. "There is tremendous power too, in a minority guided by God." (Interlaken, Sept. 6th, 1938). There was even the foolhardy statement before the war, that Hitler, Mussolini, or any other dictator, if God-controlled, "could control a nation overnight and solve every bewildering problem."

Within M.R.A. itself, the adoration of Dr. Buchman is repugnant and at the same time ominous. His followers seem ready to quote his words parrot fashion and to treat his most commonplace utterances as world-shatteringly important. At least one observer has complained of this. But it is hardly surprising really. The very basis of M.R.A. belief fosters such an attitude.

The growth of Socialist knowledge, the mass understanding and conscious change at which we aim, can only be hindered by such as M.R.A. Their hysterical "anti-Communist" outbursts, their denial of the class struggle on the one hand, and their fanatical religion on the other, are a menace to Socialism and even to the limited capitalist democracy that we enjoy today. It may seem comfortable to relinquish responsibility for one's thoughts and actions and shut out the uncomfortable world of reality. But it is not the way to salvation for the working class. That way, in fact, lies damnation—of the earthly kind.

E. T. C.

Socialist

Dear Comrades,

On this Continent, the pressure of capitalism on the working class is not minimized by welfare-state palliatives. Today, all the problems, whether of the homeless families, or of the young, or the old, of increasing criminality, etc., etc., not only remain, but are accentuated. Life is getting harder for the workers, more difficult and more insecure. One need not detail the daily reports of domestic tragedies caused by want and misery—one need only look at the newspapers' headlines, and leading articles, such as "This Lost Generation," "Courage to see things in their real light," "The alarming rise of criminality"—a feature which, one of the papers says, shows a deep crisis in a sick society.

The working class of all other European countries are in no lesser plight. You have read of huge strikes in Italy and of demonstrations in Belgium against the further lowering of the workers' living standards. In France, unemployment, cuts, short time working and strikes are on the order of the day. A periodical, *Les braves gens*, published by an organisation of French philanthropists appealing to the rich for a realisation of the suffering of the destitute and the plight of the lonely old people in particular, states in bold type: (4 million French live on 1.88 NF (about 3s. per day). The paper states that thousands of people have had their gas and electric current cut off for non-payment of bills. And how could they, with 3s. per day to live on? Perhaps this will remind you of the Abbé Pierre campaign in Paris to arouse the well-to-do to a realization of the terrible plight of the French capital's poor and homeless outcasts, though when all is said and done by these philanthropists, the workers remain the wretched and heavy laden in this capitalist world. Saying this to the President of the movement *Les braves gens* (whom I happened to meet at a swell Vienna hotel), and suggesting that nothing but a fundamental change of the constitution of present-day society can do away with these evils and with what *les braves gens* called a national disgrace, Count de Danne replied that ideals do not pay, that my proposal was impossible, and that all one can do is to palliate the sufferings.

Principles

A glance at the world in general reveals a sadly sick and chaotic society. UNO and FAO-statistics show a shocking picture of hunger and misery, almost unbelievable in a world of staggering wealth and unlimited possibilities. That behind the fine facades there exists a tortured humanity and so much happiness, seems paradoxical. Yet, such is the dismal truth.

In the face of such a situation and the permanent threat of another war; in the face of the inability of all the statesmen, politicians, leaders, writers, scientists and churchmen to solve any social problem; in the face of the past failures of the "superior brains" to avert catastrophes such as the two world-wars in this progressive "enlightened" generation, one can only marvel at the child-like attitude of the surviving poverty-stricken masses of the people still looking with confidence and respect to the "personalities" and to their leaders. Is it not yet evident enough that these individuals always stood—and stand today—for the continuation of the present system, of which poverty and insecurity of the workers, armaments and all-round conflict, always on the brink, are inseparable parts? What greater human disaster must befall us before it dawns on the workers that fundamental change is imperative! Surely, with the daily references in Press and Radio to such questions as Germany, Berlin, Laos, Indonesia, Algeria, the Sahara, the Congo, Palestine, Pakistan, and Africa and Asia in general, and to the nauseating thieves quarrel over the control of the tremendous resources and exploitable populations, the workers can no longer fail to see the real CAUSE of all the trouble—commercial rivalry.

Of course, not one of capitalism's apologists or statesmen would lay his finger on the root cause of the social dilemma. Not one would point out that what is in all logic to be done, is the removal of the private ownership barrier in favour of common ownership by the people as a whole, which alone would enable mankind to rise to higher and loftier forms of human co-existence.

Many of capitalism's henchmen claim to have been in the "resistance" movement and to have suffered for their opposition to war. But the only genuine opposition movement in the world to capitalist war was and is today the revolutionary

organisation of the S.P.G.B. and their companion parties. All others are not opponents to war as such; they were only on the wrong side of the war-makers' line-up. They wanted the other side to win, but not to oust capitalism.

Therefore, here is our watchword for the workers for the next Election: Up with PRINCIPLES—the revolutionary

Socialist Principles—and no Vote for individuals unless they are uncompromisingly committed to subscribe and endorse the Declaration of PRINCIPLES!

A hearty Salute to all comrades!

Fraternally yours

for Socialism!

R. FRANKS.

The Passing Show

RUSSIAN "SOCIALISM"

A LETTER in *The Times* on May 10th read as follows:

The gap between Marxist theory and practice could not be better illustrated than by the extension of the capital penalty in Soviet Russia. In theory the state and crime in the Communist society are supposed to "wither away." The fact that 44 years after the Marxist Revolution it should be necessary to reintroduce the death penalty for a number of crimes is surely a very much more important propaganda point for the West than who manages to be first in orbiting the Earth with a satellite.

The harm that has been done to the cause of Socialism by the Russian Communist Party is incalculable. Over and over again the opponents of Socialism are able to make speeches and write articles sneering at Socialism on the strength of what the Russians are doing. If we say that Socialism means the end of war, they retort that the Russians have Socialism, and they also have one of the biggest war-machines that have ever been built. If we say it means the end of wage-slavery, they retort that the Russian workers still have to labour for wages. If we say it means the end of crime, they show the Russians' own reports revealing widespread crime in the Soviet Union. If we say it means the end of money, they point triumphantly to Russia—they have Socialism, and they have found they can't do without money.

From both sides of the Iron Curtain the flood of lying propaganda is endless. The Russians maintain they have Socialism, hoping thereby to secure the allegiance of the world's workers, and make the task of any states which go to war with Russia much more difficult. The Western world also maintains that the Russians have Socialism, because they hope that their own workers, seeing that the Russian workers are no better off

than they are themselves, will therefore turn against Socialism.

STATE & PUBLIC PROPERTY

FURTHER grist to the mills of capitalism's supporters comes with the news that capital punishment in Russia has now been extended to further offences. It was abolished with great publicity in 1947, and then restored in 1950 for "traitors to the country, spies and wreckers-diversionists." In 1954 it was applied to murder in "aggravated circumstances." Now it has been decreed for persons convicted of large-scale theft of "state and public property," for forgers, and for criminals who "terrorize" fellow-prisoners. The British newspapers have not been slow to make capital out of the news. Here we are, they say: here is the "classless society" that the Socialists want—and it can't even get along without executions! Even many admittedly capitalist countries have been able to abolish capital punishment: even in the old Russia, under the last Czar the death penalty was reserved for political crimes—that is, treason and attempts to murder members of the Imperial House.

Against this, Socialists can only go on repeating the facts of the case: that in Russia, as the most cursory unbiased examination would show, the presence of private property, wage-labour, state industry, commodity production, crime, and the coercive apparatus of the state all demonstrate quite unmistakably the nature of the economic and social system. It is capitalism, and nothing else.

But this has to be done in face of the capitalist monopoly of the Press, pulpit, radio, cinema, and television, all of which strenuously maintain the opposite. In fact, so useful is Russia (i.e., a capitalist country calling itself Socialist) as a propaganda weapon to the supporters of the status quo, that one is tempted to transfer a famous phrase: if it hadn't

existed, it would have had to be invented.

STRIKE OVER ALGERIA

MONDAY, APRIL 24TH was a notable day in the history of France. At five o'clock precisely all industries, all public services, all organised labour ceased, and there was a nation-wide strike lasting one hour. All the trade unions—communist, social democrat, right-wing—joined to support this tremendous demonstration. Some ten million workers came out, and it was considered "probably the most massive strike in French history." What had caused this enormous working-class reaction?

The answer, of course, is Algeria. The revolt of April, although led by four generals, was a movement of the French settlers in Algeria and their sympathizers. These settlers form a landed aristocracy. Their position as a propertied class depends on their keeping the Algerian land which they or their forerunners seized. While the Algerians themselves could be subdued without too much expense, the French capitalist class was prepared to support these landed settlers. But now the situation has changed. A whole rebel army is in the field, and large-scale military operations are necessary to keep Algeria from falling into their hands. A new Algerian moneyed class, which is the mainspring of the rebellion, is growing up.

It is in the interests of the French capitalist class to cut its losses, and by giving independence to Algeria to escape the crippling financial burden of the Algerian war. Then, in peace, French firms can resume their profitable activities in Algeria as they have in the other

former French colonies in Africa. This is what the French ruling class requires, and this is what its present executive officer, General de Gaulle, will carry out. Even though the General was brought to power by a movement which had its origin among the settlers in Algeria, the necessities of the ruling class dictate his course. Which explains why there have been two more attempted coups in Algeria since de Gaulle took power, led by the very men who at first supported him, and who now, of course, regard him as a traitor. But he is not that. Just as in other countries the elected politicians throw overboard their promises when "the needs of the country" (i.e., the needs of the ruling class) demand it, so in France de Gaulle has been forced to disappoint and discard the men who thought they were raising him to power in order to "keep Algeria French."

This, then, is the nature of the struggle in Algeria. Basically it is a contest between the new Algerian capitalist class and the landed settlers, with the self-interest of the French ruling class forcing it at last to come down on the side of the former. And the massive strike carried out by the French trade unions was in support of the French ruling class against the settlers.

When the workers devote half the time and energy which they now give to fighting for the interests of their masters, to fighting for their own interests, they will be irresistible.

HEADACHES

FROM the *Sunday Express*, May 7th:

Soon returning to London after spending the winter months in Jamaica are Lord and Lady Brownlow. They have been staying at The Great House, Roaring River—the 3,500 acres of cattle land and plantation which Lord Brownlow—formerly Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire—bought 13 years ago.

But "although his estate adjoins the fashionable vacation resorts, Lord Brownlow does not find that his visits to Jamaica provide restful holidays." He is reported to have said: "Being a member of the so-called Plantocracy these days means more headaches than profits." Naturally! Property-owning has always meant "more headaches than profits." Property-owners throughout the ages have been at pains to make this clear to the non-property-owners. So insistent have property-owners always been on this point that we would be tempted to believe them—if only they showed they meant it by giving up their property.

A. W. F.

Jehovah's

Until a couple of centuries ago human knowledge of the physical universe and of man's historic development was scattered and very limited. The principal guides were religious works and teachings, the most familiar being the Bible. The idea of the World and Universe coming to an end, and being reborn again in some other form, stemmed from man's primitive struggles with nature, the observance of life and death among plants and animals, the waxing and waning of the heavenly bodies.

The strong religious theories and dogmas influenced ideas about society.

It was when the class struggle became more acute that suppressed groups combined theories about new societies with the contemporary religious ideas on the ending of the world. Politics in those days were never far removed from religious hair-splitting and supplication.

In the 16th century Germany was in a state of upheaval. The creed of one Protestant group, the Anabaptists, included a belief in the return of a divine power and the establishment of a system of common ownership. The dramatic outcome of this movement was in 1535 when the Anabaptists under John of Leyden, took over the town of Münster and attempted to set up the millenium on earth. The adventure was an experiment in a commonwealth society which the feudal landowners, aided by the Church, stamped out in mass bloodshed. In England at the time of Cromwell a similar but smaller group called the Fifth Monarchy men existed. Successfully hampered by the magnates and Cromwell, they awaited the Restoration to gain a place in history. Frustrated then at every turn they took to the murder of legal gentry, and followed this up by a comic opera attack on the Tower of London. This adventure effectively erased them from activity.

With the opening up of the United States the ideas of the Millenium took on a more peaceful form. In North America, where land was plentiful, colonies calling themselves the Lord's Elect set up their Edens, practising mutual aid, pooling of resources, and strict living. Others more colourful awaited what they hoped was to be the second coming under some self-appointed Messiah or Shiloh. The weakness of these colonies lay in their exclusiveness. The outside world interested them only slightly; they had no desire to interfere with society.

Servants

However, in the 1850's one group formed a different attitude. Known as the Christadelphians, they laid down very definite views on their God's plan for mankind which they based on biblical study. They claimed that the old earth would pass away with Christ's return, and a new world with no evil, oppression, or wars, would be the reward of the believers, with an everlasting life thrown in. They made a name for themselves as conscientious objectors in the American Civil War.

By 1872 Pastor Russell, living in the U.S.A., had formed another group based on Christadelphian theories. These groups called Bible Students were worldwide, linked to their chief, Russell, by a system of publications and pamphlets that embodied the Russellite theories. After the death of Russell in 1916, the mantle of leadership fell on the shoulders of Judge Rutherford, who had American know-how on sales pressure, publication and organisation. The Bible Students were banned in the U.S. during the first World War and Judge Rutherford was jailed.

It was in the unsettled conditions of the world after 1918 that the Bible Students turned their propaganda to eye-catching and shock provoking tabloids. Such statements as, "Millions now living will never die" (in a world still numbed by the World War losses) or "Religion is a racket" at least arrested attention, even if the subsequent arguments were lacking in proof.

The Rutherford clique tightened up on the old members and widened the base of membership. The original select class were quietly pushed out and the members eventually became known as Jehovah's Witnesses—a more comprehensive name and helpful in making new members.

The ideas of the sect are disturbing to other creeds. They renounce the conventional ideas of heaven and hell, the immortal soul, and the holy trinity. Backed up by Biblical quotes, the Witnesses argue that Man was created and lived under perfect conditions, but fell under the influence of a fallen angel, namely, the devil. Since then the world and its social systems have fallen more and more under the sway of the devil and his legions. Wars, sovereign states, hunger, poverty, oppression and death itself are all manifestations of mankind's turning away from Jehovah's revealed truth.

The current troubled society fills them with hope, however, as the Witnesses proclaim that the day of Armageddon cannot be far away. The faithful, they say, will survive the final struggle in which the devil will be made captive, and "this system of things" swept away. Christ will rule the earth, supported by some 144,000 spiritual beings who once lived on earth. The rest of men will not die, and under the theocratic order, the earth will flourish as a garden.

When the earth is fruitful again a resurrection of all the dead will take place. All will enjoy the paradise on earth and so remedy past sins by acknowledging Jehovah and Christ. However, after a thousand years the devil will be released to tempt the wavering. This is the final struggle and the devil and his followers will be finally condemned to death.

A cynic might wisecrack and ask how anyone could turn "bolshie" after a thousand years of the millenium; will it be the outcome of boredom? Many may howl with laughter at these theories—at the same time as they are swallowing other dogmas, religious and political, that are just as unreal.

The Witnesses can argue their case with ability and verve, which is more than can be said for the average Catholic, Tory or Labourite. Fundamentalists in a world of science, they fearlessly attack theories of evolution by rapier

thrusts at the weak links in Darwinism. They are the type of religious opposition to keep materialists on their toes. They have been scourged by the dictatorships which have tried to keep them from their domains as if they were the plague. This is to be expected when great "Leaders" are filling their workers up to the brim with home brewed "People's Republics" and "New Orders." The Witnesses might appear to their masses as some rival supermarket.

The Jehovah's Witnesses may be painstaking in argument, energetic, skilful in propaganda, obedient in organisation; but after all this they are supporting some theory that has no basis in fact. For their case ultimately pivots on a manlike conception of a god; a deity with human emotions and ideas, a god made in man's image. The grimness of capitalism has driven these people to feel that man cannot help himself; he must forever wallow in blood and hatred, never growing up, always dangerously infantile.

In fact, only man himself can work out his own salvation. In spite of the setbacks, heartbreaks, and mistakes, Man learns step by step to deal with his problems.

That is the final answer to the Witnesses of Jehovah, and to all other purveyors of religious theories.

JACK LAW.

Rocking the Boat

IS EVERYTHING quite well with Mr. Macmillan? Governments, we know, are bound to become rather unpopular at times: the working class has a nasty habit of suddenly turning against the very men whom they have just elected to power, and for no apparent good reason. Perhaps that is why we are hearing so much about trouble in the Tory ranks. Or is there something more?

The April issue of *The Director*, which is the mouthpiece of the Institute of Directors, carried an article which speculated upon the possible successors to the leadership of the Conservative Party. It is strange, as the article pointed out, that there is at the moment no immediately obvious choice to take over from Mr. Macmillan. When Churchill was Premier, everyone knew that he would one day hand over to Eden. And Eden, it once seemed, would pass on the burden to Butler. But Macmillan has not brought on any bright

young man as his heir apparent—there are many who look as if they have a chance of one day stepping into his elegant shoes.

Now the interesting thing is that *The Director* should bother its head about the matter of the next Prime Minister at all. Mr. Macmillan is still young, as Premiers go. He has been in the job for barely four years and is hardly cool from his last smashing electoral victory. His government seems to have given satisfaction to large sections of the British capitalist class. Why, then, should some of them want to dwell upon the awful day when he must leave the stage to lesser lights? What are the causes of dissension in the Tory benches?

Well, there is Africa, for a start. The government's policy of giving in so easily to the demands for independence has upset the tea-planting element in the Tory Party. Lord Salisbury spoke for them all when he castigated the Colonial Secretary as being "too clever

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Fenwick Hall Bk., Boston 9, Mass.

by half." Some political correspondents are saying that not only Mr. Macleod is a sharp boy; Macmillan himself has shown a crafty hand over Africa. The Prime Minister's problem is to bring his wilder and woollier supporters to accept the realities of modern British capitalism, on issues like Africa. Gaitskell, who has a similar problem over nuclear armaments, has not shown up half as well as Macmillan. The recent history of colonial nationalism must have convinced many influential sections of the British capitalist class that the most economical way of dealing with the nationalists is to give them what they ask and to make the best of it. Then, they should be able to continue to invest money in the newly independent territory and so keep their influence with the native government.

This policy is much less ruinous than the sort of warfare which the French have waged over Algeria and the British over Cyprus. The sharper British statesmen must shudder when they recall the famous "never" speech of Lennox-Boyd in a debate on Cyprus. They must realise that it is better for the colonial powers to do a deal with a rising nationalist movement rather than to attempt to suppress it. This is one of the reasons for the sudden changes of front which we have seen recently over colonial affairs, changes which have transformed men like De Valera and Makarios from terrorists, reviled by every popular news-rag, into respected politicians who are welcomed to the conference table. Soon, perhaps, Jomo Kenyatta will be similarly transformed; and Ferhat Abbas and the other leaders of the F.L.N.

Willingness to come to terms with the independence movements may be, for the capitalists, the saner course, but the Tory Empire men do not appreciate it. These are the men who are roasting Macmillan over Africa.

Then there is the matter of the spies. First the Lonsdale case, then George Blake. Macmillan did his best to soothe everyone, saying that Blake's espionage had done no irreparable damage. This is impossible to reconcile with the words of Lord Parker, when passing sentence, that Blake had brought a lot of British intelligence work to nothing. This sort of thing must be very disturbing to the people who are charged with keeping the secrets of British capitalism—and the Labour Party, who are as worried about this as the rest, were quick off the mark with some pointed questions to Macmillan and were glad to see that Gaitskell went along to secret discussions with the Prime Minister.

No member jeopardised his majority by pointing out that all nations have their spies. (There are reports that Blake gave away some *British* spies in *East Berlin*). Nobody said that spying is one of the results of the involved diplomacy of the various capitalist powers, who are all the time working to extend their influence and power. Not one honourable member suggested that, whilst armed forces exist, they are bound to need powerful weapons, and to keep their latest methods of organised murder a close secret. There was not, in other words, one voice, however small, raised to say that espionage is part of the sordid way of capitalist life, that most capitalist nations have their own spies—whom they regard as heroes, whilst scourging their opposites as

dirty snoopers. All sides of the House were united in defence of British capitalism; the only discordant note, in fact, was struck by a few Labourites and Tories who think that perhaps the government is not vigilant enough in this defence. Some government supporters may even have been a little irritated with Macmillan over the matter. There he was, so smooth and assuring, so full of honeyed words and all the time letting all that scandalous espionage go on behind his back.

If the Tories are a little down in the mouth, they can have found little in the Budget to cheer them up. We all know that Budgets can often win a few votes, even for an unpopular government. That can hardly be said for Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's first effort. One aspect of the Budget which escaped notice was that it contained a lot of measures which are popularly supposed to come exclusively from the Labour Party. This year's Finance Bill gives the government power to introduce, as it likes, a payroll tax and to vary certain excise rates by ten per cent. either way. These are typical of the powers which the last Labour Government used to take, in the days when it was absorbed in planning the recovery of post-war British capitalism. At the time, the Tories attacked such non-Parliamentary powers as undemocratic (quite right—they are). They called them examples of Socialist dictatorship (quite wrong—they are nothing of the sort). Now that a Conservative Government is taking similar powers, is there a word of apology or a hint of diffidence about doing so? There is nothing of the sort. This is not surprising: the policies of capitalist political parties are determined by the emergencies which they encounter in trying to organise the affairs of the ruling class. Because they are all basically working to the same end, there is every reason for them occasionally to swap policies. It can be amusing to observe them doing so. But let us always remember that there is no concern for high flown principles of democracy and freedom in this. It is simply a matter of national housekeeping for their capitalist class.

These, then, are some of the worries which beset Mr. Macmillan. A short time ago he had the unusual distinction of stroking his eight to a third consecutive victory, but there are some signs that the tide is not running so well for him now. True, the Tories won a lot of seats at the recent local elections but, as *The Economist* has pointed out, they did not do as well as they might have

hoped and expected. We all know that Dapper Mac is a clever political oarsman, who is well capable of pulling his crew together. In any case, the other possible eight is squabbling on the bank about nuclear disarmament and doesn't

seem able to agree on who they want for their captain. With all this excitement going on, who cares if the river is full of people struggling to keep their heads above the water?

IVAN.

Adam Smith's theories of Income

Notes on Economic History (8)

ADAM SMITH establishes an elaborate theory of the formation of value and of price, arguing that under primitive conditions, when there is little capital and when rent has not yet come into existence, the value of goods is determined solely by the amount of labour embodied in them. Things, like water, which have a great use-value, have no exchange-value; and conversely, things with very little use-value, like diamonds, have a very high exchange-value. It follows that as the measure of the exchange-value of goods it is their "natural price" that matters. Not the utility of an article, but the amount of labour that has been expended in producing it.

In accordance with the fluctuations of supply and demand this market price swings to one side or the other of the labour expenditure price. The various items out of which the actual or market price is made up are the outcome of private property and the existing legal order, consisting of (a) wages, (b) the share payable to capital, and (c) rent, which may be regarded as interest paid for the use of land (equivalent to the difference between the price of the produce of the land, on the one hand and, on the other, the expenditure of the farmer upon wages, plus profit on his farming capital).

From this is deduced a theory of distribution, or of the formation of income (Smith uses the term "revenue"), for inasmuch as production is carried on with an eye to the market on the basis of the division of labour, the product is distributed in accordance with the laws of the formation of prices in the market. The distribution of wealth is effected in accordance with the constituents of every price; the worker receives the equivalent for his labour, and the capitalist and the landlord receive equivalent for the co-operation of capital and land.

Thus all the commodities which compose the whole annual produce of the labour of every country must resolve themselves into the same three parts, and be distributed among the different inhabitants of the country, either as wages,

profit on capital, or rent for land. "Wages, profit and rent are the three original sources of all revenues as well as of all exchange-value. All other revenue is ultimately derivable from one or the other of these." *Wealth of Nations* (Book 1, ch. VI).

Smith's theories on the laws of distribution may be briefly phrased as follows. Rates of wages are determined, like market prices in general, by supply and demand, due to whose operation they vary to one side or the other of a subsistence wage:

The more capital there is in a country, the greater is the demand for labour, and the higher therefore are wages. The profit of capital has the opposite trend. The more capital there is, the lower is its rate of profit; the more capitalists there are, the greater is the tendency to underbid one another. Consequently, the more labour there is in a country, and the richer it therefore is, the lower in general is the profit of capital. (Book 1, Ch. IX.)

In the matter of land rent, a more complicated machinery is at work:

Increase in the productiveness of labour the division of labour and the expansion of manufacture leads to a fall in the prices of the products of industry. To the extent to which this happens, the products of agriculture automatically exchange for larger quantities of industrial products; that is, the former become dearer. This rise in agriculture prices is attended or followed by a rise in rent.

(Book 1, Ch. XI.)

Rent also rises concurrently with an increase in capital, for since more capital and labour are applied to land, and land is therefore used more effectively, the income from land necessarily increases.

According to Smith economic life develops best when it is left alone. The main business of the State is to keep order. Economic activities when perfectly free develop harmoniously, and free competition must be left to do its work. Competition forces everyone to follow his own economic aims, to develop all his forces, and to produce as cheaply as possible. Consumers are supplied with goods at the lowest prices,

capitalists can devote their energies to their tasks unhindered, and workers can seek employment wherever wages are highest. In this way a condition of social harmony is attained. At the same time, it results that everyone engages in the occupation which comes most natural to him. Division of labour takes place along the lines that are most economical.

By virtue of its own mechanism, society can get the better of that selfish outlook which is (primarily) hostile to society. Everyone becomes enabled, by the pursuit of his own advantage, to enjoy his natural rights.

R. A.

To the Editor



SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

Were England to achieve Socialism or even be in process of achieving that ideal goal, would we not become economically strangled by all other countries? Our natural wealth being limited to coal and iron, we are entirely dependent on the means of survival to a prejudiced, vindictive capitalist world.

I would be pleased to know my fears are ungrounded, and would be grateful for a reply.

Leeds.

H.F.

REPLY

Our correspondent's assumption is, in fact, false. He himself points out that England, for example, is deficient in many types of natural wealth which are essential to a modern society. This is also true of many other countries. Even those countries which are naturally rich often find it to their advantage to import raw materials or manufactures.

The modern process of producing and distributing wealth is an intensely social and co-operative act, which no country can opt out of. Because of this, any attempt to set up Socialism in one country must come to grief, for that country would be forced to enter into commercial relations with the capitalist part of the world. The very fact of that country trading with others would mean that its "Socialism" was at an end.

Socialism, therefore, is nothing if it is not a world-wide system. Some parts of the world may advance towards it slightly before others. But the eventual establishment of it must be a virtually simultaneous act, to transform society from a competitive to a co-operative basis.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

FINANCE & INDUSTRY



June 1911

KING CAPITAL'S CORONATION

A king is to be crowned. In the presence of Our Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Premiers of the five Dominions of "our" Mighty Empire, and the assembled Monarchs of many lands, and the Lord God of Israel and the Stock Exchange himself.

It is commonly believed that "royal" power is the attribute of the monarch of a constitutional country, but nothing could be further from the truth. That question our capitalist masters fought out many years ago. They have left the King his name and his robes, his crown and his palaces, but they have stripped him of every vestige of power. The "Crown" is not the King, in any capacity, but the capitalist State. The King's Speech to Parliament is written by his Ministers, even the prerogative of mercy is not the King's but belongs to the capitalist Cabinet.

Even the swearing to uphold the institutions of capitalism is all bunkum and make-believe. There is today, in this country at all events, no institution of capitalism that the capitalists themselves are not fully able to maintain, or that they trust to other hands than their own.

This is the real use of Monarchs in capitalist States. Behind the person of the King the capitalists can hide the fact that it is they in reality who rule. By parading their kings before the workers at every possible opportunity, and with every circumstance of pomp and display that their ingenuity can invent, by investing them with divine right and something of divinity itself, the capitalists awaken and stimulate and nurture that spirit of reverence, which is so deadly an enemy to the growth of revolutionary ideas, and so detract attention from themselves.

From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD, June, 1911.

The Manufacturer's Dream

STOCK EXCHANGE speculators and the financiers who manoeuvre take-overs can, within limits, accommodate themselves to the fluctuations of markets and production but the manufacturer has them always on his mind. When demand leaps he may suffer the anguish of knowing that if he had expanded more he could sell more and make more profit; and when demand drops he may find he has stocks of unsaleable goods. The manufacturers' dream of heaven is a market that steadily grows and never catches him unprepared.

After last year's collapse of the motor industry this thought has recurred to the export director of the British Motor Corporation, Mr. J. F. Bramley. In an interview in the *Sunday Express* (12/3/61) he told how he feels about it:

People just don't understand the problems that a sudden boom and an equally sudden slump bring to the industry. As long as the demand is there the overseas dealers keep clamouring for cars and you have to keep supplying them. At any moment there may be thousands of vehicles in ships or on railway sidings awaiting shipment and your factories are in top gear. Then overnight the market goes "soft" and the pipelines are choked with cars nobody wants any more. We would much rather see a steady demand at a gradually rising level.

The motor firms and other manufacturers may go on hoping, but there isn't anything they can do about it, for the "trade cycle" of alternate expansion and contraction is how capitalism has always operated. Already there is talk of another set-back for motor cars later this year, and now the cotton industry is facing trouble again, as well as the furniture industry and the clothing trade.

For many years politicians and economists claimed that, with the lessons learned from the depression of the 'thirties, governments could handle the problem, but fewer now confidently hold that view.

One popular business theory was that firms could gain stability by extending their activities into several different fields, but the experience of the oil companies shows the flaw in this remedy.

For some years now the oil companies have been hit by overproduction of oil, recently aggravated by the Russian drive to invade Western markets and by the opening of the Sahara oil fields. There

have also been too many oil tankers, in spite of which the Shell Company reports that "in recent months there has been increased placing of new orders and this must inevitably tend to prolong the world tanker surplus, now in its fifth year."

The Royal Dutch-Shell group of companies found new outlets by developing methods of producing chemicals from oil, including fertilisers, industrial chemicals, plastics and resins, which, of course, meant competition with the chemical industry.

They now report that others are moving into the chemical-from-oil activity, "strong competitors, formidably equipped with capital and technological skills." Consequently, "there is some danger of surplus manufacturing capacity being created as the result of investments based on an over-optimistic assessment of profitability."

Perhaps when there are too many chemicals the research chemists will develop another new industry, to turn the surplus chemicals back into oil.

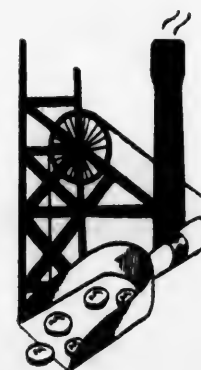
Concentration of Ownership

Writing in the February *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics*, H. F. Lydall and D. J. Tipping publish the results of a new attempt to estimate how the wealth of the country is distributed. They write:—

In broad outline these figures suggest that total personal net capital in early 1954 was about £40,000 million. Of this, nearly £31,000 million was owned by three million persons possessing over £2,000 each; and the remaining £9,000 million was owned by the other 32 million persons aged 20 or over. In the top capital group there are 20,000 persons with more than £100,000 each and an average holding of over £250,000; in the bottom group are 16 million persons with less than £100 each and an average holding of less than £50.

So the 20,000 persons who own over £100,000 each have £5,000 million between them; while the 16 million people who have less than £100 each have a total holding of less than £800 million.

In between are nearly 19 million people whose total is about £34,000



million, which makes their average about £1,800.

They warn that their figures are very rough owing to the difficulties of handling the available material. They think that there has been some redistribution during the past twenty years but have not found it possible to give even a rough estimate of its extent.

Views of Inflation

IN THE PAST, inflation had a precise meaning. Mr. Frank Bower, M.A., Lecturer on Political Economy, gave a definition in 1908 which was in harmony with that given by Marx half a century earlier. Bower wrote:

A fall in the value of money, with a rise in the cost of living, caused by a comparatively permanent excess in the amount of money in circulation over that which is needed to perform the transactions of the community. Inflation usually means the artificially high prices caused by an over-issue of inconvertible paper money.

Marx dealt with this in *Capital* (Vol. I, Ch. III), when he wrote: "stated simply, it is as follows: the issue of paper money must not exceed in amount the gold (or silver as the case may be) which would actually circulate if not replaced by symbols."

Bower and Marx were both writing when gold coins, and Bank of England notes that were convertible into gold, were circulating in this country. They were describing what would happen if an inconvertible paper currency replaced the gold and convertible notes, and if notes were issued in excessive amounts.

Later on, some economists abandoned that specific meaning of inflation and replaced it by the looser conception indicated by the definition given by Nuttall's Dictionary in 1951: "increase of the quantity of money and/or credit relative to the volume of exchange transactions."

Then came Keynes, who used the term

to mean something different again. For him it was a question neither of currency nor credit, but of whether there are unemployed workers, idle factories, and reserves of materials. With very low unemployment and fully occupied factories he argued that increased demand could not lead to increased production but only to higher prices and wages, a condition he defined as "true inflation."

His biographer, Sir Roy Harrod, wrote of Keynes: "He had indeed the right to claim that his theoretical work between the wars had revolutionised the modes of thinking of economists upon inflation. They had long ceased to regard inflation primarily as an over-issue of notes or even as an over-expansion of bank credits." This disregard of the over-issue of notes reached its culmination in the remark of the Committee on the Monetary System in 1959, that "bank notes are in effect the small change of the monetary system," and that the Government's action in expanding the note issue is merely the passive one of seeing that sufficient notes are available for the practical convenience of the public.

As the total volume of production in this country is about 50 per cent. above the level of 1938, those who hold such views have yet to explain why it has been "convenient" for the government now to have in issue over four times the amount of notes then in circulation from £530 million to £2,250 million. And if the over-issue of notes has not been the main factor in causing the price level to be three or four times what it then was they might explain what the cause has been.

Which Horse Won the Race?

EARLY each April the financial columnists go in for the sport of guessing what sort of budget it is going to be. It is like backing horses, but with a difference; for after a race you do know which horse won. Not so with the columnists, who, when the budget comes out, can rarely agree what kind of budget it is. The reader can take his choice according to the paper he reads.

This year on the 11th April the *Telegraph* headed its column "Chancellor puts Checks on Inflation"; but the *Mail* found the budget "inflationary," as also did the *Express*. The *Financial Times* hedged and would only concede that on paper it was "a substantially disinflationary budget." The *Guardian*, less cautious, decided that "the total effect

... is disinflationary"; while *The Times*, coming up a day later, thought it "at least mildly disinflationary."

The confusion is partly the result of the "experts" not being able to make up their minds what effect, if any, particular governmental policies for managing production and trade will have, but it is also a by-product of conflicting views as to the meaning of the term inflation.

H.

MONKEYS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

MONKEYS, trained to operate controls at given signals, are being used to pilot American space ships! Newspapers show front-page photographs of the new astronauts, their apish chins thrust forward with Mussolini arrogance. It's all very interesting, but what about the social effects of such new developments?

Human astronauts are too few and disorganised at the moment to insist on union membership. And if an Astronaut Union meeting was held to discuss the matter, it's likely that there would be more chimps there than men. The result could be a union dominated by chimpanzees.

Now everyone knows chimps are reactionary. They accept the truck system of payment, fully satisfied with a weekly wage of bananas. They demand no danger money and can easily be bribed with a full length cover story in *Life* magazine. What will happen when the characteristics of monkey labour are noticed by industrial employers?

An American factory has already tried using chimps as labour. Mechanisation and mass production have reduced most factory jobs to a simple routine. The monkey could become a serious threat to the working class. Their food, clothing and shelter requirements are few: so are their notions of freedom. They could be farmed in colonies and crossbred to produce strains suitable for all conditions.

Naturally they'd have to be kept happy but industrial psychology is already a science. How about a few rousing songs like, "The British Chimpanzee, is the salt of our Count-err-ree"?

Laws could be passed making it a capital offence to murder a chimp and a National Veterinary Service could be set up to make sure a sick chimp could go back to work as soon as possible. British law would have to be extended to cover the chimpanzee; he should be able to

Debate with the Liberal Party

SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM

for the Liberals: G. Browne (Parliamentary candidate)

for SPGB: J. D'Arcy

Wednesday June 14th at 7.30 pm
Public Hall, High Street, Carshalton



Branch News

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

They say that the day of the big indoor meeting is over. That working people won't leave the telly for a serious political meeting.

But this was well and truly dispelled by the Party on a day of heavy rain last April, when no fewer than 400 people went to St. Pancras Town Hall for the "Demonstration for Socialism," the Party's most ambitious meeting for years.

They were attracted by an intensive publicity campaign, embracing (1) a series of leaflet raids on Islington and St. Pancras homes; (2) concentrated displays of striking red and white posters all over London, and (3) advertisements in political journals and local newspapers.

For nearly three hours, the audience heard Comrades Young and May outline the case for Socialism, answer a stream of questions, and reply to a lively discussion in which contributions came mainly from C.N.D. supporters.

Opening, Comrade Young quoted facts and figures exposing the fallacy of the "You've never had it so good" argument. He showed that workers were relatively worse off to-day than before the war. The gap between the wages of the workers and the wealth they produced had greatly widened.

Following up, Comrade May said the Socialist case was as valid to-day as in 1904—when the Party was founded. Tragically, workers still believed they could solve their problems by voting for reformist parties. They would always remain wage slaves until they voted for an international Socialist society, with no wages, no money, no national states, and where goods would be produced for human need, not profit.

To Labour and Communist questioners, Comrade Young said that nationalisation was a form of capitalism. It had nothing in common with Socialism. Neither had the

state capitalist system operating in the Soviet Union and other so-called Communist countries.

To C.N.D. and pacifist questioners, Comrade May said the way to abolish war, both nuclear and "conventional," was to abolish the capitalist system that bred it. There could be no guarantee of permanent peace without a world-wide system of common ownership and social equality.

From the chair, Comrade P. Howard said the meeting had been so successful that it would stimulate the Party to organise similar events from time to time. A collection raised more than £25.

MAY DAY

The weather was kind to London's May Day, allowing us to hold an outdoor rally in Hyde Park. Members made the best of some unaccustomed sunshine to notch up some good literature sales.

An interested audience heard the case for Socialism from Comrades Ambridge, D'Arcy, Bryant and Young.

In the evening we followed up with an indoor meeting at Denison House, where Comrades Grant and Baldwin spoke. Comrade Lake was in the chair.

WEMBLEY

Four members of Wembley Branch sold twenty copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD in one hour's canvass of the Fratton area of Portsmouth on May 14th. In the afternoon of the same day, they were joined by comrades from Camberwell and Kingston Branches on the front at Southsea, where a meeting was commenced at 3.30 p.m. and continued until almost 8 o'clock, apart from a short tea break. Although it was still fairly early in the season, there was an average audience of about fifty, taking a lively interest and asking many questions.

The previous Monday, Comrade La Touche showed us some colour slides of the West Indies and gave us some useful general information on that area. He is in England for a few weeks' holiday and it was certainly good to see him after a long absence abroad.

continued bottom page 95

Meetings

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 pm & 6 pm

East Street, Walworth

June 4th & 18th (11am)

June 11th (1 pm)

June 25th (noon)

Clapham Common 3 pm

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 pm

Hyde Park 8 pm

Earls Court 8 pm

Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays

Castle Street, Kingston 8 pm

Rushcroft Road 8 pm

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturdays

Royal Exchange Square 3 pm

Sundays

West Regent Street and Renfield Street Corner 7.30 pm

BRISTOL

Durdam Downs,

Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m.

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall,

Cambridge Heath Road, E.2

Wednesday 14th June, 8 pm

"SOCIALISM & TRADE UNIONISM"

Speaker: G. MacLachrie

PADDINGTON LECTURE

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1

Wednesday 14th June 9 pm

"THE STATE OF ISRAEL"

Speaker: J. Keys

MITCHAM LECTURE

The White Hart, Cricket-Green

Thursday 15th June 8 pm

"ANY QUESTIONS"

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 51 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.J.) 87 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

SOCIALIST STANDARD

JULY 1961

6^D



Captured Anti-Castro rebels

CUBAN COCKPIT and CASTRO

page 104

Those who fought with Castro in the belief that it was a struggle between democracy and dictatorship are silenced, in prison or in exile. Political freedom is something of such overwhelming importance to the working class that it loses it at its peril. It does not exist in Cuba.

BRITAIN AND THE COMMON MARKET

page 99

Even allowing for the fact that the Labour Party has long abandoned all pretence of being anything but an appendage of capitalism, it is indeed strange to see Mr. Michael Foot and Viscount Hinchinbrooke lined up against Britain's entry, at the same time as Mr. Shinwell vies with the *Daily Express* in concern for the Commonwealth.

Also in this issue

To Strike or not
to Strike?

page 101

Armaments & Unemployment

page 106

Forward to Socialism

page 108

The Passing Show

page 102

Wednesday 19 July 7.30 Conway Hall
MASS SOCIALIST RALLY

Meetings
BACK PAGE

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e. land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
 - 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
 - 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
 - 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
 - 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
 - 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
 - 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
 - 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th July) in month 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemore Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel. Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th July at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 21st July at 32 Ickleton Road, Motttingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (10th July) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays (5th & 19th July) 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C1. Correspondence: T. A. Mulharon, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherston Road, N5.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (3rd & 17th July) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13, Shelly House, Churchill Gdns, S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakley, 2 Dannison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: C. Skelton, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B., 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (5th & 19th July) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (10th & 24th July) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd & 17th July) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th & 27th July) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th & 28th July) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 20th July 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: H. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid



SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Telephone Macaulay 3811

July 1961 Vol 57 No 683

CONTENTS

- 100 News in Review
Freedom Riders
Kennedy Calls
Lord Home in Portugal
Stick to your business
New Cunarder
New Market for Russia
- 101 To Strike or not to Strike?
- 102 The Passing Show
- 103 A Lesson in Futility
- 104 Cuban Cockpit and Castro
- 106 State Insurance
- 106 Armaments and Unemployment
- 107 Finance and Industry
Capitalism's sensitive spot
European Common Market
The Employers' Attitude
Cost of Advertising
- 108 Forward to Socialism
- 109 What is Economic Life?
- 110 Belfast Election Campaign
- 111 Coventry Re-Blitzed
- 112 Branch News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Britain and the Common Market

THE COMMON MARKET has become a burning issue for British capitalism. After being convinced for years that it would fail, the Government has now belatedly realised that it may after all be here to stay. But so late have they left it, and so long have they dithered, that if they are to do something about joining they must do it quickly. Otherwise, it will be impossible for them to jump on the bandwagon at all.

Hence Mr. Macmillan's somewhat panicky efforts to get matters straight with the Commonwealth and his undignified haste to prepare the ground at home.

For it is clear that the issue of whether Britain should go into the Common Market is causing a lot of heart-searching in many quarters. Not only is the Government worried, but industry, the Commonwealth, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, even the trade unions. And not only worried, but very much divided. Even allowing for the fact that the Labour Party has long abandoned all pretence of being anything but an appendage of capitalism, it is indeed strange, for example, to see Mr. Michael Foot and Viscount Hinchinbrooke lined up against Britain's entry, at the same time as Mr. Shinwell vies with the *Daily Express* in concern for the Commonwealth. And on the other side, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, Rev. Donald Soper, and Lord Home certainly make an odd collection!

As far as industry is concerned, to the giants like I.C.I. the whole question is academic. They are going into the Common Market regardless of what decision the British Government may take. Confident of being able to compete on equal terms with the Europeans, the only thing they are afraid of is being left outside. On the other hand, there are many industries and firms that are very much afraid of meeting European competition and who are consequently violently opposed to going in.

The majority of the agricultural interests share this view, worrying whether their system of protection will disappear once the British market is thrown open to efficient Dutch production and the fast rising food surpluses of France. These anxieties are also shared by Commonwealth countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand whose agricultural outlets in Britain would be seriously threatened and who have nothing to gain and everything to lose in a unit which is largely self-sufficient in foodstuffs save for those of tropical origin.

These are only some of the conflicting economic interests which the Government is being called upon to resolve. Unfortunately for Mr. Macmillan on this occasion, however, the usual policy of British Governments when conflicting interests are at loggerheads to make a show of compromise that is really only a temporary camouflage for the dominant capitalist interest to have its way in the long run is a non-starter since the Common Market is itself in no mood for compromises. To them, it is either in or out. For the British Government, then, the long prevarication will soon have to end—a decision must be made one way or the other.

Strong rumour has it that the decision has already been made and that

British capitalism is in. But this may be only part of Mr. Macmillan's softening-up tactics and the opposition may be stronger than he thinks. Whatever the outcome, it will throw interesting light on the political strengths of the various sectional interests in present-day British capitalism.

But much more interesting will it be to watch how the economic forces of capitalism, driving society's development towards ever larger units, will eventually win the day—whatever the decision.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

FREEDOM RIDERS

Nobody need be surprised at the reception which was given to the Freedom Riders in Alabama. Race hatred, with its violent undertones, still festers in the Deep South. When we remember this, the 'sit in' victories seem to have been too easy.

Neither should we wonder at the brutality of the Montgomery mob. Colour bars cannot be justified by scientific argument, because there is no evidence to support them. Violence is simply a substitute for reason. Here is fertile ground for the ignorant, vicious mobster to flourish unhealthily.

We should remember that many of the Southerners who are fighting so hard to keep the Negro down also fought not so long ago in a war which, we were told, was for racial freedom.

We can see now what that assurance was worth. Racial freedom cannot be safeguarded by the military victory of one capitalist state over another. It depends upon the ideas of human beings.

Capitalism, with its anomalies and insecurity, breeds many brutal and inhuman ideas. Race hatred is one of them. The Freedom Riders are tackling something which may be bigger than they think.

KENNEDY CALLS

PRESIDENT KENNEDY is certainly mobile. His top level visits showed that, after the years of dispute, the American capitalist class still concern themselves deeply with European affairs.

Even after the wars which were supposed to eliminate them, there are still enough conflicts of interest in Europe to start another international blood bath. There is no reason to think that a third world war need begin anywhere else.

Kennedy did not see Macmillan until after his important talks with de Gaulle and Khrushchev. Was he reporting on what had been decided, whether Macmillan liked it or not? Was his call at

London merely a face-saver for British capitalism?

Certainly, it showed that the days are gone when Britain's gunboat word was law and that international capitalism has new bosses to sort out its problems.

Do summit talks help in this? Experience says no. Eisenhower was one of the latest of the exponents of top man-to-top man chats, but when he left office the world was as far from a secure peace as ever.

In truth the representatives of the ruling class rarely, if ever, talk peace. They talk commerce, strategy, compromise: sometimes threats. Sometimes war. If Kennedy can be taught anything in this, he is probably learning fast.

LORD HOME IN PORTUGAL

LORD HOME, according to the people who know him, is a most charming and amiable fellow. A master, perhaps, of tact. An expert at disguising any inner feelings which may embarrass his host. Just the chap, in fact, to send out to be chummy with a dictator.

Lord Home must have needed all of his resource during his Portuguese visit. It at any time he touched on the massacres in Angola, it was doubtless with the greatest of delicacy.

There is no reason to get het up about this. The Foreign Secretary did not go to Portugal to discuss ways of expanding democracy. He went to talk about the usual things: economic interests, strategic zones and bases, exchanges of weapons and so on.

These are the real interests of the nations of capitalism. Beside them, high flown concepts like democracy are insignificant. True, some governments—like the British—profess a deep concern for freedom. But their actions expose their hypocrisy.

Diplomats are the administrators of this hypocrisy. We may sometimes wonder at their cynicism, but we would be wrong to blame them for the faults of an entire social system. Nobody should

- ★ *Race Hatred in U.S.A.*
- ★ *Summit Talks*
- ★ *Portugal & Britain*
- ★ *Trade Unions & Politics*
- ★ *Ocean Liners*
- ★ *Russian Trading*

support capitalism with one hand, and hold up the other in horror at its brutality and suppression.

STICK TO YOUR BUSINESS

MR. WALTER PADLEY, President of U.S.D.A.W., made the headlines recently for his statement at the Bournemouth Conference of his Union. "Passionate speech brings triumph to Mr. Padley", they said.

Was his passion for a £1 a week rise, or for shorter hours? No, he was pleading the cause of the Leader of the Labour Party—of which he is an M.P.—in opposition to the Unilateralists.

The conference spent a whole day discussing Unilateralism. What has this got to do with Trade Unions? Trade Unions were formed long before the Labour Party, with the definite object of fighting encroachments on their members' conditions of work and standard of living by the Capitalist Class, not to solve the problems of a Capitalist Party like the Labour Party. Although the prime aim of the Trade Unions when they formed the Labour Party was to get representatives in Parliament, we now find the tail wagging the dog.

In our view, the sooner the dog has a tail amputation the better. Then perhaps Trade Unions will discuss at Conferences what they are really there for.

NEW CUNARDER

THIS MONTH, the invitations to tender for the contract to build a replacement for the *Queen Mary* will go out to the shipbuilders.

There seems to be little prospect that the new Cunarder will be very profitable. The government are sinking £18 million in the venture to keep British shipowners in the scramble for the transatlantic sea traveller.

Cunard argue that the best way of doing this, and of boosting British prestige, is to build a 75,000 tonner. Other

shipping companies have their doubts about this.

Some workers may object to the government's subsidy because they think that it comes out of the income tax and other taxes which they grumble about so much.

Let us set that one at rest. However much the State takes from a worker's wage packet—and however much they leave in it—he still receives, on average, about enough to live on.

The burden of taxation is borne by the capitalist class, which is as it should be. They can afford taxes, and it is their State machine.

The attitudes which the political parties have struck about the new Cunarder may cause some surprise. Why should the Tories be justifying a State subsidy for such an eminent private enterprise? Should not Labour be pleased that the government is helping to build a British prestige winner, and giving work to depressed shipyards to boot?

This is not the first time the requirements of capitalism have persuaded political parties to abandon what they call their principals.

A NEW MARKET FOR RUSSIA

THE INVOLVEMENT of the Russian bloc in Cuban affairs must be seen in the context of their desire to penetrate a Latin American economy which hitherto had been the exclusive preserve of Western Capitalism. But even with their huge increase in commerce with Cuba itself, their share in Latin American exports and imports last year was still only about 2 per cent of the area's total trade, as against 47 per cent for the United States and 29 per cent for Western Europe. However, Russia has embarrassingly large exportable surpluses of petroleum and her highly industrialised satellites, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, urgently require outlets for manufactured goods and capital equipment. Meanwhile within Russia there is a growing demand for foodstuffs such as sugar, coffee, beef and bananas.

Most Latin American countries are utterly dependent upon the export of one or two main crops or raw materials only. Yet it is just these commodities that have suffered a prolonged decline in price in recent years bringing about a continent-wide economic crisis. An important factor contributing towards this decline has been the hardening of U.S. tariffs against so many of the products that she herself produces. An even more significant factor, perhaps, has been the in-

creasing competition from the emergent African states and Portuguese colonies. Because of their closer ties with Africa and the somewhat shorter distances for freight the Common Market has many

advantages in further developing trade with Africa. We can expect, therefore, that Russian capitalism will seek to profit from this situation with increasing vigour and success.

To strike or not to strike?

"If I had my way," said the gent in the bowler, "I'd chuck the lot into gaol." "A bunch of layabouts, if you ask me; afraid to work. They don't give a damn for the country's exports, either. Do you know, I heard a case the other day..." He was talking (need we say?) about strikers.

This is fairly typical of the irritation which strikes provoke. When they occur frequently in one particular industry, irritation turns into exasperation. In the last London dock strike, the City's commercial interests made a strong demand for government action against the strikers. There were not many stiff collars in the coffee shops around Leadenhall Street who could be found to disagree with this demand.

This last fact is rather depressing, because it indicates a lack of class interest among a section of the working class. (Tell Stiff Collar that he is a member of the working class and watch him splutter over his coffee!) But those interests exist and sooner or later they operate, whether they are openly recognised or not. Stiff Collar is often compelled to do battle (well-manneredly, of course) for a rise in pay. He sometimes manages to screw a little extra out of his job in expenses, free entertainment and the like. Yet tell him that this is exactly what the docker, with his militant attitude and his little fiddles is doing, and you will find yourself in argument with an angry man.

So let us try to put this strike question in its place. Strikes are inconvenient: we know that. Transport strikes, for example, can cause a lot of suffering to the workers whom they leave stranded. But the strength of a strike is often measured by the inconvenience which it causes: there would be no point in coming out if the strikers' labour was easily dispensed with. The strike, in fact, is a weapon. If conditions make a weapon necessary, then there is every reason to make sure that it is the most powerful that is possible.

Is there, then, any need to have such a weapon? Are strikes really necessary, or are they just the work of disgruntled and childish layabouts? We all know that we go to work because we must have

wages in order to live. Stiff Collar needs them. So does the docker and the dustman. Our employer does not give us our wages as a favour, or because he thinks we have done a good job. They are the price of something we have sold to him; they are the price of our working ability. Whenever something is sold, there is immediately set up a mutually antagonistic relationship of buyer and seller. The buyer's interests are in paying as little as he can for whatever he is buying and the seller's are in getting the highest price he can. This applies to the sale of a worker's labour power; it expresses the division of interest between employers and employees and the unity of interest among the working class. This is what forces Stiff Collar to ask for his rise, and to work his expense account. This is what brings the docker to strike.

But, says Stiff Collar, some workers are always coming out on strike—and for such silly reasons; does it do anybody any good, to use a weapon so indiscriminately? He has a point there. For, apart from the tactical requirements of a strike—that it should be solid, short and simultaneous—workers should make sure that they only strike for a worthwhile reason. They should strike only for something which is of value to them as workers.

Unhappily, this does not always happen. There are strikes by one set of workers against another, often over trivial disputes. We have all heard of the demarcation strikes in the shipyards, when men downed tools over who should bore holes or who should chalk lines. There have been strikes by "white" workers against the employment of "coloured" workers. Last October, for example, the dustmen of Westminster City Council threatened to strike because a Jamaican had been promoted, so that instead of emptying the dustbins into the dustcart he would be driving the cart. Such strikes are deplorable, because they are aimed against other workers instead of against the employers, and because they ignore the unity of interest which all workers, everywhere, have with each other.

The most recent example of this sort

of strike—or threat to strike—came out of the application of the Steel Company of Wales for an import licence to import American coal. S.C.O.W. wants the coal because it is at present about sixteen shillings a ton cheaper than Welsh coal. We might have expected the National Coal Board to contest the application; it is a threat to one of their big markets. But Mr. Robens was dead-headed in his protest by the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, who also had strong words to say on the matter. "So long as we are able to produce all the coal we need at home, imports are unnecessary," said Mr. Will Whitehead, president of the South Wales N.U.M. The next day, a delegate conference at Porthcawl passed a motion which threatened to use the miners' "industrial strength" to prevent the importation of the American coal.

We may appreciate the fact that the Welsh miners are anxious to keep their jobs, which they fear will be jeopardised by the cheap American coal. But this, at best, is to see only one side of the coin. For every export from one country is an import into another. What if American car workers struck against the import of British cars into America? Over 130,000 such cars went to the States during 1960. Or if the miners in the countries which import British coal came out on strike in protest? A monthly average of 455,000 tons—including bunkers—went out during 1960. And what about the steel workers in this country? Most of them probably agree with the theory that cheap coking coal means lower steel prices (it doesn't), which means that more British steel may be sold and that their jobs may become more secure. What if they struck in favour of the import of cheap coal from the States?

There is a simple way out of this maze. The working class throughout the world, whatever their job or colour of skin, should realize that only one sort of strike is worthwhile. That is one which is aimed at protecting or advancing their interests against their capitalist employers. Such strikes are worthy of wholehearted support from all sections of the working class. Strikes which are directed against other sections of workers can only damage working class interests as a whole, because they attack the very unity in which workers must find their strength.

There is even more to it than that. The miners who are resisting the imports of American coal are fighting their employer's battles. The National Coal Board want to protect their markets, and at the same time they would like to take over the markets which are exploited by

the coal industries in other countries. They would also like to control the market for fuel in this country—witness their smart advertising campaign and the financial inducements they offer, in competition with the oil companies, to householders who are thinking of installing central heating. In this, they are just like any other capitalist concern. Certainly, they are no different from the steel companies, who are all in favour of making their own product as cheaply as possible and exporting as much of it as they can but who, as Mr. Whitehead cannily pointed out, would not like to

see cheap Japanese steel pinching the market in Great Britain.

Capitalism is rife with divided interests. The working class, who depend for their living upon selling their mental and muscular energies, should ignore them all, save one. That one is their own interests as a subject class. When they have come to grips with that, they will get down to some fundamental questioning of society. We shall see them all at it. The miners will be doing it, and the steelworker. So will Stiff Collar and the gent in the bowler.

IVAN.

The Passing Show

WE MAKE NO APOLOGY for returning to the subject of Sir Thomas Moore, the Conservative M.P. for Ayr Burghs. Sir Thomas is the man who advocates a return to flogging and more frequent hanging as the answer to our troubles. But he only supports these punishments in cases of petty violence. Where a dictator is able to carry out a long and widespread campaign of violence, then Sir Thomas (provided he agrees with the tyrant's brand of politics) is all for it. In the early days of Hitler's regime he was an outspoken supporter of German Nazism; and he is still a loyal champion of Spanish Fascism. On June 7th he wrote to *The Times* defending General Franco's regime, on the grounds that he imposed "law and order" on the country when, in the thirties, Spain was threatened with "communism on the march to impose its usual stranglehold on freedom".

Only a week earlier, on May 31st, there had been the news of the sentencing of thirty-two agricultural workers to terms of up to 15 years' imprisonment by a Madrid military court, on the charge of "spreading communist propaganda" (a blanket term which, in Spain, covers any criticism of the regime). This is only the latest of a long series of trials of political opponents which Franco's courts have held since he—having shown himself more successful at violence and killing than his opponents—came to power in the Civil War. These thirty-two farm workers, and the thousands of others in Franco's political jails, would no doubt be interested to learn of Sir Thomas's contention that Franco seized power in order to forestall an attempt to put a "stranglehold on freedom" in Spain. To defend Franco on these grounds is like giving a medal to a man who saves a child from drowning, only

to stab it to death immediately afterwards.

Democracy

But, of course, political freedom need not be Sir Thomas's concern. If the Communists were in power in Spain, they would probably (not necessarily, of course, as Yugoslavia shows) ally themselves with Russia—which is now the main overseas enemy of the British ruling class. Franco and his Fascists, on the other hand, would come in with the British ruling class in any war against Russia. So Sir Thomas supports Franco, and Mr. Butler goes to Spain as Franco's guest, saying it is a shame that Franco Spain has been left out of things for so long. What do they care for the fact that the Spanish people are deprived of democratic freedoms? Democracy is a useful catchword in time of war: but if the interests of the ruling class demand it, democracy is shrugged off without a second thought.

Borgwards

Just as state control was applied here to rescue the coal and rail shareholders from the complete loss of their investments, so nationalisation—or municipalisation—is used for the same purpose in other countries. A news item from Germany in *The Times* (7-6-61) ran:

Dr. Johannes Semler, who took over the direction of the Borgward car manufacturing company in February, said today that the firm would have to cut its staff by another 2,500 people. In March the board empowered the management to dismiss up to 2,500 workers. Borgwards was taken over by the Bremen municipal authorities earlier this year after it ran into financial difficulties.

The local Social Democrats would find

the sacked five thousand workers a troublesome audience, if like the Labour Party here, they tried to persuade them that municipalisation was really for their benefit.

Raw material

An advert aimed at capitalists has recently been appearing in the more expensive newspapers. It tries to persuade industrial concerns to move to Durham, or at least to open new works there. Headed "All the workers you need in County Durham," it goes on "good hard workers, ready and willing to learn new skills". It gives a picture of a crowd of them.

This offering of human beings as promising raw material to employers bent on the extraction of surplus value is surely degrading both to the men themselves and to those who planned and those who read the advertisement. One might advertise cart-horses in much the same way. One of the many advantages of Socialism is that human beings will be considered as human beings, not simply as so much factory-fodder.

Expense accounts

The next time you read figures showing the gross inequality of incomes—after tax—in this country, the next time you hear of the handful who get £120 and £140 per week after tax, compared with the millions who get less than £20 and the millions more who even get less than £10, remember that this is by no means the whole story. The directors' fees, the share dividends are only part of the real income of the owning class. Besides the actual money, which is taxed, there are the large allowances on the expense accounts, which are untaxed. So excessive have some of these junketings on expense accounts become in America that the American Treasury investigated the position, and has now released some evidence showing what has been happening. "Safaris in Kenya, lavish living in Las Vegas and in the Caribbean and the maintenance of yachts have all been tax deductible" (*The Times* 8-5-61). An insurance man was allowed 97,500 dollars for "personal expenses". The president of a dairy went on a six-month safari, and took his wife with him: he was allowed \$16,443. A corporation which owned luxurious facilities on a sub-tropical island, including its own fishing cruiser, and aircraft to take its executives and their guests down there, was allowed \$375,000. A supply firm had its own yacht, ranch and hunting lodges.

and was given a tax-allowance of \$473,140 to cover its expenditure on them and on night club entertainment. If we can be sure of anything, it is that the ordinary workers in these firms never saw these sub-tropical islands, or the hunting lodges. These devices are simply ways in which owners of firms obtain

the means of luxurious living without having to reveal too enormous personal incomes. For to confess their real incomes (apart from the extra tax) would show too clearly to the workers the vast gap which separates the upper from the lower class.

A. W. E.

A Lesson in Futility

MARCHES from Aldermaston and Weathersfield, treks from London to Holy Loch. Sit downs and arrests in Whitehall. The campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Groups seem to be more intensely active as the days go by.

What is the Socialist attitude towards these demonstrations? No one can reasonably oppose a spirit of protest against intensifying hideousness in the instruments of war. But to treat the subject, as do the campaigners, in isolation from its causes is to make of C.N.D. an endeavour of impotence and futility. Here, on occasions like the Aldermaston and Wetherfield marches, were organised public protests against nuclear weapons. Yet throughout the whole proceedings there was no expression of antagonism towards the social system of capitalism which imposes upon each of its national capitalist groupings the need to have the most effective means of successfully waging war against their rivals. The leaders—supporters without exception of the existing social order—were cheered to the echo for their references to a capitalist world turning to nuclear disarmament for humanitarian reasons.

It is not inconceivable that governments will eventually give up the thought of waging nuclear war. The latest development in H-bombs has made these weapons so widely destructive that the use of them might well mean the destruction of the coveted markets and the extermination of the coveting capitalists themselves. Thus, to avoid the danger of destroying themselves and the very market expansion they are seeking, the various capitalist groupings, through their governments, may revert to "conventional" warfare.

This, however, is no solace. The colossal funds which governments have provided for the development of nuclear weapons reveals the financial lengths to which they will go to ensure the armament supremacy which, in the capitalist struggle for markets, alone offers a reasonable chance of triumph over rivals. And, now accustomed to greatly increased provisions for defence, they

would be quite prepared to spend huge sums on "conventional" weapons.

Who can tell but that these weapons, if multiplied and further developed, would not be just as disastrous as H-bombs? We know, in any case, that with or without the bomb, war takes a sufficiently hideous toll in bloodshed and misery. And in a capitalist system which compels, from time to time, a resort to force, wars will inevitably arise. To denounce "the bomb" whilst acquiescing in the social set-up that brings it into being is contradictory and absurd.

It is for that and the added reason that it draws popular attention from the vital necessity of changing the social order that the Socialist Party of Great Britain opposes the C.N.D. The object of the working class should be the ending of a system which, at worst, offers universal annihilation through H-bombs and, at best, brings death to millions through other destructive alternative weapons.

F. W. H.

NEWS FROM THE BELFAST FRONT

The following item appeared in the *Belfast Telegraph* for the 8th May:

Future Bright for Socialist movement

"For the first time in Ireland, the Socialist movement has now reached the stage where it is capable of offering a Socialist alternative at the polls, said Mr. William Skelton, chairman of the Belfast branch of the World Socialist Party, at a May Day meeting in Blitz Square, High Street.

"It was a modest beginning, but the future was bright for the cause.

"Mr. Calvert Moore, World Socialist Party candidate for Duncannon Ward in the forthcoming municipal elections, said it was sad to think that under the aegis of the Labour and Communist parties, the revolutionary ardour of the workers had been canalised into the safe stream of reformist politics. The only way to end the economic anarchy that was capitalism was to institute a Socialist society."

THE CUBAN COCKPIT and CASTRO

(1) The Background

IN APRIL, the American backed invasion of Cuba by a force of U.S. trained exiles became yet another issue that could have triggered off world war. As the invasion was under way, the American President warned Russia that "in the event of any military intervention by outside force the U.S. is ready to protect this hemisphere against external (our emphasis) aggression" (*Time*, 28/4/61.)

America's "egg-heads" had hardly recovered from their exertions in campaigning for the election of President Kennedy, the bright young "progressive", before they were to be distressed and dismayed by the dishonesty and hypocrisy of his policy towards Cuba. Much more important still has been the harmful effect upon the American alliance and the less committed countries within its sphere of influence. The *Guardian* editorial of the 22nd April summed up these feelings and did not mince its words in the process. "American policy towards Cuba" it said, "has lead to resounding and deserved humiliation. . . the Kennedy administration appears to be guilty of deliberate intervention in the internal affairs of another country". The editorial went on to say "as a result the United States had made Dr. Castro stronger than before; she had made his régime still more oppressive and dictatorial; and thrown him still farther into the arms of the Soviet Union. . . Neutral governments have universally condemned him (Kennedy). Even in the Western Alliance he has wantonly thrown away much of the good will he previously enjoyed". What the *Guardian* regretted most of all was that American policy has facilitated Russia's aim of posing as the "protector of small nations" struggling to free themselves from foreign tutelage. "He has made the watchwords of democracy sound like a camouflage for imperialism".

The *Guardian* summed up the feelings common to most of the junior partners of American Capitalism but we must point out that evoking democracy as a camouflage for attaining normal capitalist objectives pre-dates the Kennedy administration by many, many years. Two hideous world wars were allegedly fought to safeguard "freedom" against dictatorship and militarism but we know

otherwise. Now that Russian economic development has reached such a high pitch, who need be surprised that her ruling class attempts to disguise its sordid objectives by hypocritically evoking the ideals of Socialism?

Like Germany and Japan before her, Russian capitalism is a latecomer in the world arena. Necessarily she is on the offensive. The American bloc, of which West Germany and Japan at present form part, is on the defensive. But it is not democratic rights nor the aims of Socialism that motivate their policies. It is the maintenance or enhancement of power, trade and class privilege that each government has as its function.

In January, the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* carried an article which pointed out that for a small power to attempt playing off the great powers as a means of fostering its own economic development involves very considerable risks. The chief risk is that in freeing itself from subservience to one overlord it may well be forced to succumb to another. How is Castro faring in this respect? And, much more important so far as the Socialist is concerned, has the working-class in Cuba strengthened its bargaining position and extended its civil rights in the period in which the new ruling élite has been consolidating its position? Certainly, experience elsewhere in the field of bourgeois national revolutions of recent times has not been encouraging.

Throughout the former colonial or semi-colonial world, embryo capitalist classes or would-be capitalist intellectual-military élites are asserting themselves. Their aim is to supplant the foreign interests who, in the process of exploiting the natural resources of those parts, brought into being this rival social class. But just as the old powers find it necessary to disguise their rapacious motives under the cloak of the "struggle for democracy", so the new local exploiting class must obscure its cruel rôle in terms of the self-determination of small nations, their national liberation and the establishment of human dignity. As regards the claim of human dignity, it is true that with the ousting of the former colonial power, many an African, an Asian or a Latin American need no longer feel humiliated just because he was born where he was born and was what he was. That is an advance. But is he aware that in becoming a member of the working-class he is to face the

greatest humiliation of all? That is that in the eyes of his employers he will not even be an inferior man. He, that is to say his ability to work, will become a mere commodity, to be bought and sold on the market. A cog in the productive process. Such is human dignity in the society into which he is entering.

The Socialist measures working-class progress in terms of its heightening awareness of its needs and aspirations. Consciousness in short, of its liberating rôle in history. Do workers realise the necessity of their building trade-union organisation that is independent of the employing class? Do they know the value of the strike weapon—and its limitations? Do they value and exercise hard won electoral rights and the right to dissent? Do they become more and more convinced of the need for a change in the very basis of present society if humanity is to survive and to reach its proper stature? These are our criteria.

The Nationalist teaches the worker to identify himself with his ruling-class. The Socialist says that the worker has no country and should recognise his common bonds with workers everywhere. Each new state that is set up has as its number one task the inculcation of a sense of differentness into its school-children and of their loyalty to a piece of territory quite arbitrarily arrived at.

For the past year or so fierce argument has raged amongst Castro's admirers as well as among his critics in the outside world. Those who have viewed the scene through Bolshevik eyes have felt the necessity of "explaining" the social forces behind the Cuban revolution in the set terms of Leninism. Hence efforts have been made to show that, like China, it was the peasants' support that made victory possible as the workers played no great part. Then realising, perhaps, that the peasant's classic demand is for the land he worked and that state-farms (called co-operatives) would replace estate farms more efficiently, a new angle was developed. Truly speaking, they said, those working on the sugar plantations were not peasants at all but sharecroppers hired and fired by the three month season. Concerning the other end of the social scale, it is being debated whether it was a middle-class revolution betrayed because so many of its staunchest professional and managerial supporters have been alienated by now.

These knotty problems can be un-

ravelled, however. According to *Geografía de Cuba*, a book quoted by Theodore Draper in his well documented article in *Encounter* last March, the population was more urban than rural and increasingly so. Of the 40 per cent who were dependent upon agriculture for a living over a quarter were classified as farmers and ranchers. The urban population was mostly literate but nearly half the rural population was not. But whatever their category, the mass of the people have readily given their support to a régime that promises to put an end to seasonal unemployment by diversifying agriculture and which is making strenuous efforts to raise the educational level of the people.

India and Brazil stand out as exceptions of great significance but since 1917 virtually every country entering upon the threshold of capitalist production has

been failed by such middle-class elements as existed when the change came. Rarely has nature repeated the perfect juxtaposition of coal and iron that so favoured the pioneers of British capitalism. Coming so much later onto the scene there is the problem of important sections of the working-class being already organised to resist encroachments. Vast sums of money are needed to establish communications. Tariff walls are all around. In these circumstances and bearing in mind the extent to which the middle-class is compromised to the metropolitan power, it falls to a determined and far-sighted section of that class to actually throw off the fetters, often at the expense of some of the comforts and privileges of the class as a whole. Cuba's capitalist system is being ushered in by a revolutionary élite of this kind who had grasped power on the strength of popular discontent.

declared itself on a level with Czechoslovakia by becoming a "Socialist Republic". In the Soviet hierarchy it presumably ranks higher now than mere "Popular Democracies" which is what most of the satellites remain. Freedom of dissent whilst not entirely gone has been drastically curtailed. No opposition parties or newspapers have survived. Adlai Stevenson was reported by *Time* (28/4/61) as saying at the United Nations that nearly two-thirds of Castro's first cabinet now form the leadership of Cubans in exile. It can be seen that those who fought with Castro in the belief that it was a struggle between democracy and dictatorship are silenced, in prison or in exile. Political freedom is something of such overwhelming importance to the working-class that it loses it at its peril. It does not exist in Cuba.

E. S. G.

(2) Political Democracy

How do the trade-unions fit into all this? Except for a pioneering few that were built up under anarcho-sindicalist influences at the turn of the century, most unions date from a much later period and were set up under Stalinist influence. Nevertheless, within their limits they became quite valuable working-class instruments. Under very great pressure they carried on through the Batista dictatorship and came out more or less intact. This was partly due to the fact that in the early days of the guerrilla war the trade-union movement remained neutral. Support for Castro came from professional and managerial circles who still lacked the constitutional rights promised as long ago as 1940 and from an increasing number of the rural population who saw him as the man who would at last enact the land reforms that had been promised in the same constitutional proposals.

The Communist Party (PSP) at that stage was deeply compromised by its history of collaboration with the Batista dictatorship. As late as April 1958 it broke, in effect, the general strike called by Castro since the key transport workers under CP leadership did not join in.

A few months after Castro's triumphal march into Havana, the union elections that were held put most of the country's union branches firmly in the hands of his 26th July Movement. National conferences of various union federations during June, July and August secured him control over most of these groups. It should be noted that the new government had debarred from the elections

trade-union figures belonging to several groupings other than the 26th July Movement who had managed to retain office in their unions even though they had fought against Batista and this was because of the solid rank and file support they enjoyed.

At the congress of the local TUC (CTC) early in 1959 there was a struggle between the pro- and anti-communist elements within Castro's movement, the anti-communists having held power since his victory. According to Robert J. Alexander in his new book, *The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America*, both Fidel and his brother Raúl intervened on behalf of the pro-communist elements. As a result all but one of the leading anti-communist figures were purged from the Executive. Since then the government has taken stringent measures to regiment the organised workers. By decrees promulgated early in 1960 all collective bargaining was abolished and all matters previously dealt with through joint negotiations were to be submitted to the Ministry of Labour for arbitration. Already troops have been used to bring recalcitrant workers into line. When a Conference of the Building Workers Federation in April 1960 refused to obey the orders of the CTC purge committee to dismiss its leaders, soldiers were moved into the meeting hall and the conference was brought to a summary conclusion.

Political democracy has been part of the price of the Cuban revolution notwithstanding that its reintroduction was the rallying cry of the "bearded ones" in their fighting days. On 1st May, Cuba

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4



July 1911

STATE INSURANCE

Just as with Labour Exchanges and Old Age Pensions, so with the latest dodge, State Insurance, it is a soporific. All along the line of Liberal legislation an examination shows that the benefits go to the employing class, not to the employed.

Lloyd George, at Birmingham, exposed the mockery of the claim that those measures are being introduced to benefit the working class. He said:

"Take a brewer's horse. How well he is looked after—well fed, cared for and doctored. If he does not feel up to the mark he has got a guardian there specially looking after him. He says there is something the matter with his horse to-day. He is kept there, is doctored, until he is right. That is not merely humanity, it is good business."

Just so. To keep the worker in a fit condition ensures a greater output, and the increased efficiency resulting from such condition will enable the employer to wring more profit out of his victim, for, while the labour-power may cost a little more, the return is certain to be greater.

A paper issued by the Government contains still more significant statements from German employers who have experienced the working of similar insurance schemes. . . .

From the "Chemical Industry" comes the statement that:

"From the standpoint of the employers these laws are remunerative to the extent that the efficiency of the worker is increased, and without the insurance laws correspondingly higher wages would have to be paid."

Just as Germany a few years ago recognised that in order to obtain the markets of the world they must have efficient labourers, so today, the British capitalists, ever behind, realise

Armaments and Unemployment

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE organised by the Labour Party in January 1911 passed a resolution in favour of a campaign to secure the mutual gradual reduction of armaments, with a view to the ultimate disbandment of all armies and navies. It rejected a proposal for a general strike to prevent war and would not even discuss an amendment to the main proposal, which declared that disarmament could only be brought about by the abolition of capitalism and establishment of Social Democracy. Many interesting things were said at the Conference, including a declaration that the British Government was absolutely responsible for the world armament race, made by Will Thorne, M.P., who three years later was heartily supporting the war "against the German militarists". But what concerns us here is an amendment, debated at the Conference, which would have postponed any effort to reduce armaments until such time as a law had been passed providing full maintenance for workers who lost their jobs in the armaments industries. The amendment was defeated but the attitude persisted and is with us still: there are still many workers who believe that it is only armaments that keep capitalism busy, and that if governments reduce armaments, employment and trade and wages will collapse. How much truth is there in this belief?

It can be answered categorically from past experience as well as from general considerations that capitalism is not kept going simply by armament expenditure and therefore the effect that reductions of armament expenditure will have depends on all sorts of other factors as well. To start with, except in war-time, expenditure on armaments and armed forces represents only a small proportion of total national income and production—in Britain it is now about 7½ per cent, in U.S.A. about 11 per cent, and in other European countries very much less than

that to combat Germany they must economise, they must obtain a better quality of labour-power if possible—without increasing its cost. Hence there is a welling-up of the milk of human kindness in the capitalist breast, and we get State Insurance and the like.

From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD, July, 1911.

7½ per cent.

It is of course obvious that if the British Government suddenly destroyed all arms, gave up arms production and disbanded the armed forces, thus saving an annual expenditure of £1,400 million, it would create immediate problems for hundreds of thousands of redundant soldiers and armament workers, as well as for manufacturers with cancelled contracts. If trade conditions were already depressed at that time the effects might be severe and prolonged, but they would not be different in magnitude from the effects produced by any other sudden cessation of demand for labour and goods totalling £1,400 million a year. One factor to be remembered here is that what is called "defence expenditure" is not wholly or mainly on weapons of war; about half is on the food, uniforms, buildings and pay of military and civilian staffs.

In 1945 war expenditure was equal to nearly half the total national income. Then in two years it was cut from £5,000 million to under £850 million, and the size of the armed forces was slashed from 5 million to 800,000. The effect of this on unemployment was negligible though it involved millions of men changing their work and millions of others finding jobs after demobilisation. All that happened was that as the armed forces dwindled the numbers of workers in civilian employment grew, for capitalism was in a vigorous phase of expansion. Experience after the first world war was not the same. There was much more industrial disorganisation when the troops were demobilized and within three years came the acute though short-lived slump of 1921.

British capitalism was still expanding in 1951 when the Labour Government launched the re-armament programme: which more than doubled defence expenditure from £740 million to over £1,400 million. To make it possible other activities, including building and the capital expenditure on the Post Office and nationalised industries, had to be cut down because there were insufficient reserves of labour and raw materials to carry on the existing volume of civilian production plus the expansion of armaments. Within a year the Government reported that the planned expansion of armaments was itself falling behind because of these limitations.

America immediately after the end of World War II had much the same ex-

perience as Britain when it demobilized most of its war-time armed forces, but unemployment did not fall to so low a level.

Germany and Italy had a quite different experience. They were not going through a phase of expansion in the early post-war years and their demobbed soldiers and redundant munitions workers largely went to swell the very heavy unemployment that lasted for ten years or more.

But later, though Germany's armament expenditure still represented only about 2 per cent or 3 per cent of national income and production, German industry has had several years of boom conditions with more vacancies than workers to fill them and hundreds of thousands of workers being brought

in from neighbouring countries.

We can therefore say that though arms and armies play a considerable part in the whole field of production and employment and can at times exercise a considerable influence on the total magnitude, expenditure on them is no more decisive than any other expenditure of similar size, i.e. on average about 5 per cent to 10 per cent of total national production and expenditure. It all depends on whether capitalism is in an expanding or a contracting phase.

To put it in perspective, it may be added that while capitalism continues no government is in fact going to abolish its armies and armaments though, as in the past, there may be occasions when expenditure is reduced.

H.

the better we shall succeed."

Everyone in the factory, from managers downwards, is paid on a basis that includes a considerable element for increasing output.

It seems to have been very good for the firm as its profits have gone up in ten years from £260,000 to £575,000.



The Cost of Advertising

THOUGH advertising costs are sometimes very high for particular articles, especially when a new product is being launched or there is fierce competition for the market, the total cost of all advertising is not as large as might be expected.

According to an estimate of the expenditure on all forms of advertising made by Dr. Mark Abrahams and published in the *Observer* (19.3.61) the total in 1960 was £455 million. It has however been rising fast and is expected to touch £500 million this year.

H.

FINANCE & INDUSTRY

Capitalism's Sensitive Spot

IT HAS LONG been noticed by observers of capitalism that among the crimes it punishes most savagely is anything which affects the sanctity of the currency. In Britain the maximum penalty for counterfeiting gold and silver coins (which includes the current cupro-silver substitutes) is penal servitude for life. Nothing more clearly highlights the essentially capitalist nature of the Russian social system than the news that the extension of the death penalty in that country includes the offences of uttering or passing forged currency or securities, and there are sentences up to five years and confiscation of property for speculators.

According to David Lloyd (Daily Telegraph 26.6.1) a big case is now before the courts of speculators who are alleged to have made 20 million roubles in a year (2½ million at the official Russian exchange rate) by illegal dealings in foreign currencies and gold.

European Common Market

IN AN INTERESTING article on why British capitalism ought to join up with the Continental group (Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg and Holland) to form a solid unit with 250 million population, the City Editor of the *Sunday Times* recently argued that in no other way can capital be found large enough to meet the needs of the coming world grouping. There will, he says, be four dominant World Powers.

Russia, America, Europe and eventually China; and unless Britain joins in, British capitalism even with government aid will not be able to provide the vast capital needed for large-scale industry, automation, and military developments including rockets. He expresses the opinion that Russia has been spending on rockets as much as the total British cost of arms and armies.

In the 19th century and up to 1939, British capitalism could keep abreast of the development of costly techniques, but can now no longer do so.

The Employers' Attitude

BECAUSE, under near "full employment", it has not been quite so easy for employers to discipline the workers as it was before the last war, it is often claimed that worker-employer relationships have undergone a fundamental change. Mr. Appleby, Chairman and Managing Director of the Black and Decker power tools firm, in an interview published in the *Evening Standard* (29.5.61) expressed a point of view that reads just like any past declaration that the capitalist is in business to make profits, and does so by a mixture of stick and carrot: "Bob Appleby runs the Black & Decker concern here on one main principle which he explains quite bluntly. 'We are in business to make profits' he says. 'The more pressures and incentives we can exert on people,

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers: 46 Carlotta St., Greenwich, N.S.W.) or correspondence: P.O. Box 2201 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne: P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Dublin

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Porirua

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Pennell Hall Bldg., Boston 9, Mass.

Forward to Socialism

FIRST, let us have some facts about the position of the workers in this country today. So much political capital has been made out of the workers' alleged "prosperity" that if we merely succeed in getting the facts and establishing the truth, we shall have done something really worthwhile.

A few facts, then, about the distribution and ownership of wealth. One of the most recent assessments is Professor Morgan's book *The Structure of Property Ownership in Britain*. Professor Morgan estimates that the total nominal wealth of this country today is £40,355 millions. Of this, 5 per cent or 1 in every 20 own a total of £30,000 million. That means that the remaining 95 per cent own a balance of £11,000 millions. In other words, 1/20 of the population owns 3/4 of the nation's wealth. The remaining 19/20 own about a quarter between them, but of this 95 per cent over a half own nothing.

In 1960 10 million people paid Income Tax on £10/20 a week; nearly 6 million paid on £3 to £10 weekly; while only 16,000 paid tax on over £10,000 a year income. That means that less than one in a thousand gets £200 a week. The number of millionaires in Great Britain increased from 37 in 1956 to 67 in 1961. An increase of 30 in five years. Some, such as Mr. Clore, Mr. Hugh Fraser and Mr. Cotton, are multi-millionaires, of the order of 15 to 20 million or more. As might be expected, many increased their wealth by vast "take over" deals.

In the first quarter of 1960, there were mergers to the tune of £200 million. The first quarter of 1961 more than doubled this figure with £427 millions, which included the largest bid of all time—£130 million for Ford's Motor Works, besides £39 million for Odhams Press. Six per cent more retail trade passed into the hands of the great multiple combines in 1950/60.

How have the wage earners fared? From 1938 to 1960 real wages (i.e. what wages will actually buy) have increased by 22 per cent*. This is based on the Ministry of Labour's Price Index, which always starts an argument. What must be remembered is that this is for manual workers only (whose wages were low to start with in 1938). Were the clerical workers, local Government lower grade Civil Servants and teachers included

* London and Cambridge Economic Service.

there would hardly be any increase. Behind the purely nominal increases, real wages have remained practically stationary.

On the other hand, the workers staged 800 more strikes in 1960 than in 1959 with 200,000 more workers involved, showing that they are not as docile as their employers would like. Assessment of the situation in 1961 would be incomplete without some reference to Automation.

In practice, this means that more processes are controlled by pre-set electronic and other devices. The worker has less choice than ever in the character and quality of his product, and so is more completely than ever the appendage of a machine. It ensures that workers work regularly at a faster pace, and is a fruitful source of more surplus value and higher profits. The large amount of overtime worked, and long hours spent in travelling to and fro, do not improve matters. Working hours remained around the 46/47 hour mark. Where decreases are obtained they barely compensate for Automation. In fact, 1960 might be summed up by saying that it gave the very best that workers can expect under Capitalism—plenty of work.

Unfortunately workers cannot get straight improvements under capitalism—they all have strings. Wages may improve, but with a big demand for labour, up go rents and the price of food and necessities. So that, overall, it might be said that in spite of the fantastic technical developments of the last decade—the fundamental position of the worker (with his television set) remains the same. With the Frenchman he can say "The more it changes, the more it remains the same." And this, after hundreds of Reforms, scores of leaders, the finest Health Service, the best Insurance Scheme and the most democratic rights in the world.

Perhaps I ought to say a word about atomic power, space-flight, the penetration of the mantle of the inner earth etc. Apparently some people think that all this supersedes or invalidates Socialism. So far from refuting the analysis of Capitalism as a passing stage in social development which prepares the ground for Socialist society, they confirm it.

Marx can well stand on his own feet, needing no prop from anyone. All who take the trouble to read what he wrote, will find the definition of Capitalism as the explosive destroyer of the Old World. It is unmistakable. Does the

following sound out-of-date? Is it old-fashioned? Victorian? 19th Century?

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarous nations, into civilisation. The cheap prices of all commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese Walls. It compels all nations to adopt Capitalist production. . . .

It has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. . . . It keeps on doing away with the scattered state of the population centralised means of production and concentrates property in a few hands. Independent provinces become one Nation, one Government, one law with one frontier and Customs barrier.

. . . The capitalists have created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together.

Subjection of Nature's forces to Man, machinery, application of chemistry to Industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole countries for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had ever a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

Now a word about the political scene. Conservatives still command a majority. For years now the Labour Party has been losing ground. So much so, that the Liberals have actually staged a revival.

Surely this is the tragedy of our generation! That the Party which claimed that it had successfully "united" all the motley crowd of which it was formed, should today be torn into contending factions is no fluke, but the inevitable result of its original blunders in 1904. But that bewildered workers should turn back to Liberalism in their despair is tragic.

The Labour Party was born out of the idea of working class political action. Many of its prominent figureheads claimed to be Socialists. Even more than this, they claimed to be "practical" Socialists who knew the way to get Socialism without explaining it to the workers. To quote from the Party's Foundation Manifesto:

This political party of the workers can only be a Socialist Party because Socialism alone is based on the facts of working class existence. Socialism alone can free the workers from the necessity of selling himself for the profit of a master. Socialism alone will strip him of his merchandise character, and allow him to become a full social being.

This has never been understood by Labour, I.L.P., Communist and other Parties. It is for this reason that the Resolution which created the Labour Party stated that the new Party "would cooperate with any other group in support of any measure in the interests of Labour, in the House." Capitalist Parties cannot work in the interests of the working class.

Why, the Labour leaders actually started activities with pacts with Liberals against Tories, they advocated, like Mr. Harry Judd of the S.D.F. at Northampton in 1900 "Unity to defeat the Tories" just as the Communist Party does now with the Labourites. This was the start of a 57-year record of job-hunting and place seeking, culminating in the Labour Government, in which the Labour leaders systematically opposed the very

reform measures they had themselves used, to clamber into positions of power.

War, Conscription in peace-time, Strike-breaking by Troops, Wage Freeze, Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, they have supported all these and actually implemented most of them. Their Nationalisation schemes, with their disastrous failure to understand that Society (meaning today, the workers) or the "Community" cannot "control" industry without owning (that means taking them out of capitalist hands) through political power first, are bogged down and discredited. Their housing projects, as soon as they became landlords, bring them both opposition and hatred.

The myth of the working class marching steadily forward to Socialism by increasing Labour majorities is well and truly finished.

HORATIO

What is Economic Life?

Notes on Economic History (9)

ADAM SMITH'S ideas on the development of economic life led him to make a clean sweep of all feudal ties and servitudes. The abolition of serfdom, the introduction of freedom of occupation and industry, freedom of movement, political autonomy; these were the inevitable corollaries of the new doctrine.

A demand heavy with consequences, the demand for free trade, formed a logical and essential part of the demand for the abolition of all restrictions upon production and distribution. Smith's theory of free trade was as follows:—

If trade be freed from all restraints, through the working of competition, it will come to pass in the long run that every country will produce those commodities which its natural facilities enable it to produce most cheaply. Thus there will arise a natural international division of labour, which will rebound to the maximum benefit of each nation, for each will be able to buy all it wants in the world market at the lowest possible prices; while selling there to the greatest advantage those things which it is exceptionally fitted to produce. It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family never to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. (*Wealth of Nations*.)

In regard to the applying of these free trade principles, Smith was prepared to compromise. He agreed to the need of

excise duties as a source of revenue, as also to the expediency of retaliatory duties imposed upon imports from countries whose policy was protectionist, and for duties for special purposes, for instance where an industry was judged to be essential for the safety of a country and was in need of protection. Smith, not being the dogmatist, as those who subsequently opposed his doctrines declared, was very cautious in practical matters.

Much of present day opinion of Smith's views is based upon the modifications his teachings underwent at the hands of Ricardo, and later still in the eighteen-thirties by the Manchester School of Free-traders. It is necessary to point out that Smith was not hostile to the landowning class. On the contrary, he considered that the interest of those who lived by rent was "strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of Society" for their income increased proportionately to an increase in the general welfare.

Of the capitalist class he wrote that its interest had not the same connection with the general interest of Society as that of the landowners and wage-earners. For, he said, the rate of profit does not, like rent and wages, rise and fall with the booms and slumps that affect society. On the contrary, it is low in times of boom, and high in times of slump. Smith says it is always highest in countries that are going to ruin. To him, the interest of the second order, that of those who

live by wages, is as strictly connected with the interest of the society as that of the landowning class. He advocated high wages and freedom of combination, but he deprecated State interference in wage contracts.

Smith's teaching brought about an entirely different way of looking at political economy. It did this, first of all, by showing investigators that the source of wealth is not a simple matter. He regarded labour as the primary source of wealth, but the conditions under which labour had to operate were of vital importance, and especially the increase of productiveness by the division of labour. Smith regarded everything from the outlook of exchange in the market, he conceived of economic phenomena as centring in exchange in the processes of "trade", and his explanation of the motive force of economics was derived from this conception.

Smith's chief contribution to economic doctrines was his neatly rounded and bold notion that economic life was a series of processes of exchange linked to each other. Herein lay such originality as he possessed. He finalised the physiocratic idea of the natural order, that is the harmonious encounter of numberless individual self-seeking economic activities. In his doctrine, exchange, the trading intercourse of separate economic agents, became the central manifestation of economic life. His system was not a theory of production, but a theory of price and value which he considered determined production just as much as distribution.

Like all economists worth considering, Smith endorsed the physiocratic concept of the average wage, termed by him the natural price of labour: "a man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation". The fact that the development of the productive powers of labour brought no benefit to the worker is stressed by Adam Smith. Smith notes that the productive power of labour underwent no really important development until labour was transformed into wage labour, and until the means of production had taken the form of private ownership, either of land or of capital. Thus, labour's productive powers did not begin to develop until the worker was no longer able to take for himself the results of development.

R. A.

SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

SOCIALIST STANDARD
1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

The Belfast Campaign

WITH the object of creating opportunities for propaganda activities, bringing the name and object of the Party into prominence and demonstrating that they were not just another "left" group, the Belfast Branch of the W.S.P. of Ireland decided to contest a ward in the Belfast Municipal Election. The deposit for nomination of candidate was £25. Though the Branch realised that they would lose their deposit, they considered the resulting propaganda would justify the expenditure.

They contested Duncairn Ward, as it was only in this ward that they had enough members to sign the nomination paper. It is a very thickly populated ward but not particularly suited to their purpose.

Voting locally is restricted to the occupier of a house and wife. Families

living in dwellings that are sub-let, and adults other than the occupier and wife, are denied the right to vote. On the other hand a "property" vote enables businessmen and company directors, with branches or diverse business interests, to vote as many as eight times.

There is no free election postage in Ireland. Consequently the small group of Belfast comrades had to name and address the ten thousand Election Statements, and deliver them to houses over an area of 16 to 18 square miles. This was a colossal task, which took well into each morning, after holding meetings in the area during the evening and night. Their opponents contented themselves with touring the constituency with music, processions led by bunting-bedecked lorries, and loud-speaker exhortations telling people how to vote.

(continued page 111)

ELECTION MANIFESTO

Extract from the Election Address of the World Socialist Party of Ireland, Duncairn Ward, Belfast.

HOUSING

There have been innumerable Acts of Parliament aimed at ending the workers' housing problems; the Unionists have tried their way and we have the record of Labour parties in Britain and other countries. Yet homelessness and slum-dwelling have become an accepted thing in our society. House building, like every other productive activity under capitalism, is pursued for the purpose of profit-making, human needs are as nothing beside the great god profit. No party will solve the problem of bad and insufficient homes while profit remains the accepted system of social organisation. Only in Socialism, where production of all things, including homes, is solely for the satisfaction of people's needs, is a solution to be found.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Why are the unemployment figures getting greater every day? Certainly not because everyone has a sufficiency of the things workers produce, or can produce. Unemployment is just another permanent feature of a buying-

and-selling capitalist society. As we have demonstrated, the capitalists employ the workers solely for the purpose of profit-making; if there is no markets wherein the things that the workers produce can be sold and profit realised, then workers are laid off. In Socialism, where human needs will be the only factor governing production, when a point is reached at which a sufficiency of all things has been produced, it will simply mean more leisure time for the producers without the attendant hardships of today.

"THE BORDER"

This is a question that the politicians use in all elections to good purpose. The World Socialist Party maintains that the so-called Border is yet another expression of our present society, and we as members of the working class neither gain nor lose by its removal or retention. The problems of the workers North and South of the border are similar and are not caused by the geographical Border, but by a division much more evil in its effects—the class border between us of the working class, who produce everything and own nothing, and the capitalists, who produce nothing and own everything. This is the "Border" Socialists wish to abolish.

Every night, in spite of bad weather, a number of meetings were held. The first meetings were accompanied by three car-loads of police, motor cycle police, and several police on foot. Eventually it was reduced to a single motor cycle policeman. Places were visited where opposition was usually violent, but only once was a voice raised in anger against us.

When polling day arrived our comrades were astonished to find that the W.S.P. candidate had polled 824 votes 11.4 per cent of the total votes cast. They also saved their deposit.

At the conclusion of the poll the W.S.P. candidate made the following statement:

"The Unionist and Labour Parties represent capitalism and the continued exploitation of the working class... this is an historic occasion; for the first time capitalism in both disguises has been challenged... we are at the bottom of the hill, you are at the top, but we are ascending, you are retreating down the other side."

The fact that there were 824 votes (the bulk of whom may not yet be socialists), in one ward in such a conservative area as Belfast, is a harbinger of the progress of enlightenment. In their literature and from the platform, the Belfast members urged voters only to vote for Socialism if they understood it and wanted it, as outlined in the Election Address.

We congratulate our Irish comrades on the tremendous and self-sacrificing effort they put in with such good results. It augurs well for the progress of the socialist movement in Ireland, and is heartening to their comrades in other lands.

Coventry Re-Blitzed

WE ARRIVED in Coventry at about 11.30 a.m. and by noon we had our platform up and our literature displayed on our stand. The speaker opened the meeting and comrades moved to the various points, some selling "Standards" and pamphlets and others distributing "Introductory" leaflets with the address of the Coventry group stamped on them. Soon we had a sizeable audience and the questions came fast and furious.

In the afternoon an individual in the audience, using some youthful arrivals from the local beer shop, attempted to create some trouble. This eventually

caused a rumpus and Party members were obliged to rally to the aid of the platform.

Soon after we had reopened the meeting, the local police arrived on the scene. They insisted that we close the meeting, but not before our speaker had put the issue to the audience and secured a majority vote of hands for us to carry on. Nevertheless, we were obliged to give way to the forces of the State, and dismantled our platform to cries of "Shame" from the audience—directed at the police.

During our "break", we were approached by the police inspectors to whom we gave the necessary details of the Party, and this provided amusing incidents, such as our inability to furnish details of our "leaders". Just think of it; 57 years organised and no leaders to show for it! What did emerge during the course of the discussion was the fact that the police had been sent for by the local stores; British Home Stores flanked us on one side and Marks and Spencers on the other. Marks and Spencers certainly didn't want Marx and Engels! The Precinct in Coventry is the city's open, ultra modern, traffic-free shopping centre, and our meeting had attracted so many people that it was impossible to get into or out of the stores on either side. The Superintendent of the police later remarked that, whoever we were, we certainly hit Coventry with a bang, and apparently this was loud enough to stop the "commercial symphony" being played on the cash register bells!

However, we finally fixed things so that we could open again, and this we did at 4.30 p.m., though in a different spot. We shouldn't have been speaking at the first one in any case. We carried on for about half-an-hour and then had to vacate the speaking place in favour of some hot-gospellers (this description provided by the police), who had apparently booked it. So back we went to the scene of our former triumph, and here we carried on a successful meeting with no interruptions until 7 p.m.

We distributed 400 "Introductory" leaflets, sold literature to the value of £2 9s. 3d., made numerous contacts for the Coventry Group, and rolled back to London, highly pleased with our day's work and determined to return to Coventry in the near future.

A. J.

Since the above report was written we have heard of two further propaganda ventures in Coventry. On June 10th and 17th London members joined with our Coventry comrades in running very successful outdoor meetings.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

BRANCH NEWS continued from page 112

day. He also had a brief recording on the Canadian Broadcasting system, as well as two or three long-distance calls from prominent "writers, each of which occupied about ten minutes, enquiring about the Object and Principles of the Party. One thing the Victorian members are sure of is that thousands of people have heard their message for the first time, and a lot of confusion about the relation of Socialism to Soviet Communism was cleared up. We congratulate our overseas comrades on the effort they have put in and the results they have obtained.

IRELAND

We learn from the W.S.P. of Ireland that owing to the death of a recently elected candidate in one of the wards, they are again entering the election contest. They tell us that, in their opinion, the greatest single factor in obtaining their surprisingly high vote was because they emphasised the international nature of their message, and the fact that they are part of a greater movement. They also make this further statement:

We are inclined to accept the view that the terrible apathy existing here, as elsewhere, is not as unhealthy as it would appear. The workers may not yet have awakened to the need for Socialism, but they are beginning to demonstrate that they at least realise that so far whatever party they have voted for no change ensues for them—hence the abstentionists are the real majority—they continue to accept capitalism, but they are not voting for it. We believe that, especially among such people, real effort on our part can carry the day and convince them that there is something worth voting for. The fact that we are small numerically does not mean that the influence of our propaganda is not being felt; many people are quite prepared to vote and think with us to the exclusion of all others, even if they are not prepared at this stage to join us. In this we see much hope

P. H.

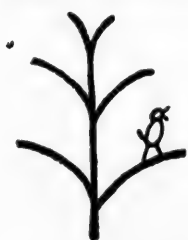
Speakers: E. Grant, E. Hardy

Wednesday 19th July 7.30 pm

SOCIALISM

CONWAY HALL RED LION SQUARE, WCI

Public Meeting



Branch News

EALING

The branch is carrying on with its programme of fortnightly discussions during the summer months, alternatively with the usual business meetings. Comrade Jack Law gave a very interesting lecture on the Jehovah's Witnesses last month and will be giving another on the "Opening up of the American West" on July 7th. Members are asked to make this meeting as successful as the last. The weekly outdoor propaganda meetings have started at Earls Court and all members are asked to make a special effort to support them. They are held every Thursday, at 8 p.m. A group of members went down to Southsea for an outdoor meeting on Sunday, June 25th. It is hoped to give a report on this next month.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove)

During May the branch held six meetings. Literature sales were S.S. £1 9s. 0d., Pamphlets £1 0s. 8d., Collections £2 15s. 10d. Average audience 32. Members and a sympathiser attended four CND Rallies and sold £1 3s. 0d. S.S. and 13s. 10d. pamphlets. They had discussions with CND members and found some "very sympathetic to our case," who had "met Party members in London."

NOTTINGHAM

Comrade Powe gave a lecture to Leicester Secular Society on "Religion, Secularism, Socialism." Fifty people were present and 8s. literature was sold. One open-air meeting was held in Leicester and two were held in Nottingham. It is hoped to follow up the Leicester meetings later. Literature sold 18s. Audiences at meetings: 40-50, 30-70, and

100 respectively. This is really good news as the Party has held meetings in Leicester in the past and it is most gratifying that we are renewing our contacts there.

LONDON

A reminder of the meeting being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, on Wednesday, July 19th, at 7.30 p.m. Comrades will recall the very successful meeting held at St. Pancras Town Hall in April. This was well organised and most stimulating for all who participated. Lessons were learned from this meeting and as a result the Conway Hall meeting should be exceptionally well supported and organised. Members and sympathisers—rally to the meeting and keep up the good work.

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON.
JULY 19TH, 7.30 PM

Please note your diaries and bring as many friends along as possible. There is a good gallery and plenty of standing room, in addition to the spacious hall on the ground floor.

BRISTOL

Durdham Downs is the regular outdoor meeting place for the Bristol Group members who have been holding meetings this season. During the month of May four meetings were held, audience averaging 50 and literature sales 9s. 6d. The comrades are hoping that with constant support they will be able to continue throughout the summer with increasing interest from the workers of Bristol.

CANADA

The candidate of the Socialist Party of Canada polled 149 votes in the British Columbia election. This result is surprisingly good in view of the fact that the Branch of the Party was only formed there comparatively recently and the constituency is mainly agricultural. Their candidate had two half-hours on T.V. and a brief appearance after the vote was counted. He also had twenty minutes on the local radio, and four days before the election another ten minutes, which was re-broadcast the same

continued page 111

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 pm & 6 pm

East Street, Walworth

July 2nd & 16th (11am)

July 9th & July 23rd (noon)

July 30th (1 pm)

Clapham Common 3 pm

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 pm

Hyde Park 8 pm

Earls Court 8 pm

Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays

Castle Street, Kingston 8 pm

Rushcroft Road 8 pm

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturdays

Royal Exchange Square 3 pm

Sundays

West Regent Street and Renfield Street Corner 7.30 pm

BRISTOL

Durdham Downs,

Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m.

EALING LECTURE

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing Broadway, 8 pm

Friday 7th July

"THE OPENING OF THE AMERICAN WEST"

Speaker: J. Law

MITCHAM LECTURE

The White Hart, Cricket-Green

Thursday 20th July 8 pm

"IS LABOUR GOV'T THE WAY TO SOCIALISM"

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 51 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 51 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

SOCIALIST STANDARD

AUGUST 1961

SIXPENCE

CRISIS IN THE CAR INDUSTRY

page 115

The State of Israel

page 120

SHANKILL CAMPAIGN

page 126

WHO'D BE A POLITICIAN ?

page 117

Also in this issue **The E.T.U.** (116) **Automation** (118) **News from Wales** (126)

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON see South East Essex.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY No meetings in August, next meeting September 7th, 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7, Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, SW8.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, Aug 4th, at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Aug 18th at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12. Summer break Aug. 19, 26 & Sept. 2.

ECCELS 2nd Monday (10th July) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (City) Alternate Wednesdays 2nd, 16th & 30th Aug 8 pm, Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Cl. Correspondence: T. A. Mulhern, 366 Aikenhead Road, Glasgow, S2.

GLASGOW (Kilvingrove) Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (7th & 21st Aug) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13, Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. Post paid

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (2nd, 16th & 30th Aug) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (14th & 28th Aug) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswood Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (7th & 21st Aug) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, (no meeting Aug. 7th) Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th & 24th Aug) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th Aug) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 18th Aug 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MA1 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.



SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

August 1961 Vol 57 No 684

CONTENTS

- 116 News in Review
British Transport's big loss
Berlin
E.T.U. and the Communists
Kuwait
- 117 Who'd be a politician
- 118 Finance and Industry
Chancellor's pay-roll Tax
Notes on Automation
Living in one room
Not belonging
- 120 Ye daughters of Israel weep
- 122 The Passing Show
- 123 Those Bonus Shares
- 124 Value of Labour-power
- 124 A place of your own
- 125 Master and Worker
- 126 News from Wales
- 126 The Shankill Campaign
- 127 Letter from Weymouth
- 128 Australian Labourism
- 128 Branch News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Crisis in the Car Industry

ALTHOUGH THE CAR INDUSTRY has managed to make some recovery from last year's slump, its effects are still being felt. In spite of all the optimism a few months ago it is now clear that output is not going to get back to the previous high levels for some time to come. As for exports, the outlook is not bright at all and much of the manufacturers' former confidence about prospects has evaporated.

The pre-war seasonal sales pattern, high in the spring and summer, and low in autumn and winter, seems now to have re-established itself. There may well be further difficulties later this year, therefore, as the graph turns downwards. Nor are manufacturers reassured to hear of the various dire measures which the Chancellor of the Exchequer is said to have ready once the 1961 Finance Bill has become law—an increase in the purchase tax on cars is hardly likely to improve their sales prospects.

A further worry is, of course, the Common Market. If Britain stays out it means the end of any hopes to step up sales in Europe since the ever-increasing tariff against countries outside the Market will put British prices completely out of the running. If Britain goes in, the position may hardly be any better since British cars will be open to the full blast of European competition.

Even the second-hand car market is feeling the pinch. Recent large-scale hire purchase defaulting has made the finance companies jittery. Deposits have gone up and interest rates are due to follow. The result has been that many firms have gone out of business or are on the point of doing so.

The situation is hardly different elsewhere. American car production is still bumping along the bottom, with little sign of an upturn. Output in France and Italy is down. In Germany, Volkswagen is still apparently doing well, but Borgward has run into difficulties and may be forced to go out of business altogether. The tempo everywhere has slackened off compared with the hectic scramble of 18 months ago when the U.S. market in particular was wide open to the exports of the European small car manufacturers. This is the present situation. What of the future? It is certainly going to see many bitter struggles.

Like Britain, every one of the other major national producers has large-scale expansion programmes ahead. Some firms are already far advanced with their plans and almost ready to go into production—Volkswagen in Germany. Citroen in France. Fiat in Italy. Others, such as Renault in France and Lancia in Italy, have also actually started work on their big new projects and until recently, at any rate, were pushing them ahead with all speed. Further to these, Alfa-Romeo in Italy has just begun building an important new plant near Milan and Peugeot in France has recently bought a large piece of land near Mulhouse for a further factory. No doubt all these firms are wondering, like their British counterparts, whether all this projected expansion is going to be worthwhile.

At the same time, every manufacturer without exception is working hard on the production of up to date models, constantly introducing new developments in techniques and design. All of them are striving continually to dis-

cover the secrets of their competitors and to go one step further. If they do not do these things they will just be left behind in the race.

The *Daily Mail* recently interviewed Sir Leonard Lord, the Chairman of the British Motor Corporation. One of the things they said to him was: "You are raising capacity from 750,000 to 1,000,000 cars a year. Do you think next year you will be able to sell 18,000 cars a week?" He smiled broadly, raised both his hands, and showed two sets of crossed fingers. Which, come to think of it, is a pretty apt comment on not only the car industry—but capitalism itself.

Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

Write to SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, for free leaflets to distribute in your T.U. Branch

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

British Transport's big loss

THE BRITISH TRANSPORT Commission's 1960 deficit was good headline material for the Tory press. One hundred million pounds down the drain! Didn't that prove how inefficient nationalisation is? This may or may not be true. But there is one way in which nationalisation is very good business—for the people who are prosperous enough to have money invested in it.

B.T.C.'s loss of £100 million was arrived at after £45 million had been paid in interest and other charges. This makes its true deficit more like £55 million. Everybody knows that a private company which finds itself with a deficit in its accounts does not usually lumber itself with an even greater loss by paying out enormous amounts of interest.

But that is exactly what B.T.C.—and all other nationalised industries—must do, because their capital is wholly guaranteed, unlike the equity shares which make up the bulk of most private companies' capital. British Overseas Airways Corporation had a kick about this last May, when they announced that their interest payments had transformed an operating profit of £4.75 millions into an accounting deficit of £1.7 millions.

A lot of people were taken for a ride when public transport in this country was nationalised, but the shareholders were not among them.

Berlin

IT IS NOT so very long ago that British, French and American workers were being killed in their attempts to blow Berlin to pieces. There is now a possibility that more workers will be killed in an attempt to put the German capital

together again. This is what is called post-war progress.

The division of Berlin, and of Germany, has been a bone of great power contention ever since those same great powers decided to carve it up in 1945. At that time, the division was supposed to be one of the essentials of peace in Europe. Everybody expected the usual peace treaties to be signed within a few years.

The facts have disappointed these expectations. Whenever Mr. Khrushchev starts talking about a German peace treaty, there is an ominous sound of the release of safety catches. Now the question has the nuclear powers grappling again—and who is to say that they are not edging little by little nearer the brink?

Perhaps Europe has never recovered its nerve from the 1948 Berlin blockade. Another world war could start before the last one has been officially signed into history. Who said that capitalism was fit for sane human beings to live in?

E.T.U. and the Communists

NOBODY NEEDED a long and expensive court case to tell them that the Electrical Trades Union was dominated by energetic Communists.

And no trade unionist needed the capitalist press to tell him that it was all his fault and that he must take a greater interest in his union's affairs. Such solicitous concern from such a quarter is, to say the least, suspicious. After all, when trade unionists become sufficiently active to organise a strike for higher wages, they have hardly a friend in Fleet Street.

Nowadays, the Communists are in the vanguard of trade union activity and for this they earn the disapproval of the press. But let us remember that they

have been a nuisance to British capitalism only since Russia ceased to be Britain's ally. An upset in the international line-up could make Communist shop stewards useful to British employers, as they were during the last war. We should all be as active as possible in trade union work which is in working class interests. And we should all realise that trade unions should be the enemy of the capitalist class, instead of the docile handbags which the newspapers would like them to be.

Kuwait

GENERAL KASSEM is only the latest of a long line of post-war bogey men in the Middle East. King Saud of Saudi Arabia used to be a bogey man, a fact which was played down when he sent troops to support the British landings.

British influence in the Arab states has been extensively undermined, and the Foreign Office policy of propping up one feudal despot against another has been a comprehensive flop. Most of the despots agree that, before most other things, they want the British to leave.

The oil-rich states are especially anxious to be "free," so that they can make the best of their natural wealth. This is the fact behind the newspaper blah about big brother coming to the aid of little boy set on by big bully.

Kuwait is the Middle East's greatest oil producer, with half of its main concession held by British Petroleum. Apart from its importance as a supplier to British industry, Kuwait is holding between £200 and £300 million in sterling. If this were transferred into some other currency, it could cause a lot of financial trouble to British capitalists.

The troops who have suffered the murderous heat of Kuwait must have guessed that they were not sent there for the good of their health. But it is improbable that they realised that it was all for the welfare of British capitalism.

Problems of British Capitalism

Who'd be a politician

WHO'D BE A POLITICIAN? To be sure, there is glamour in the job: lots of pressmen to follow you about, your own personal 'bodyguard' and (for the zanier ones) photographs with sizzling film stars. But politicians are, of course, men who have to work and, some of them, to worry.

First of all, what are politicians? Cut away all the hand-out material about their alleged brilliance and sincerity and we are left with people who are hard worked administrators of the detailed affairs of capitalist society. Whatever department a minister may have under his control, his twenty-four hour concern must be to protect the interests of the ruling class; all his decisions must conform to society's capitalist basis. Because that, after all, is what the state apparatus is there for.

The unfortunate fact about this, though, is that capitalism can often be most difficult to administer. It continually thrusts up problems for its ministers to attend to. And when the ministers think they have settled a problem, they often find that capitalism has an ungrateful way of undermining their solution. In foreign affairs, the pressure is particularly strong—we can all think of prominent politicians who have been sent to an early grave by the persistent worry of trying to sort out the tangle of clashing national interests. Similarly, attempts at taming the economic waywardness of property society have virtually killed some ministers and reduced others almost to invalids. Yes, a politician, apart from needing to be cynical and industrious, must also be tough.

One of the acutest and most persistent of capitalism's problems is the conflict of commercial interests. We do not need to be very observant to appreciate that the goods and services which contribute to our lives today—and even those which are completely essential to our lives—are turned out only to be sold. We know, for example, that nobody is allowed to use a motor car simply because he is a good driver: provided the necessary cash has been paid to the motor car manufacturers, the world's most incompetent driver can take the wheel. But before the car gets into any driver's hands, the commercial requirements of capitalism must be satisfied.

The car, in fact, must be sold.

Now where the problem comes in is that selling capitalism's commodities need not be an easy business. There are many motor car manufacturers after the money of our incompetent driver. They all point out the extra-super qualities of their car, prove that it accelerates better, runs faster, travels safer, uses less petrol, than the cars of their competitors. But, for that particular customer there can be only one satisfied car maker. The rest must be disappointed, and try extra hard to catch other sales. This is the competitive race which causes capitalism so much trouble.

The capitalist class regard the selling of commodities as vital because unless they are sold, the profit which the workers have built into them with their every working action can never be realised. The shareholders of the motor car industry would never invest their money in enormous factories, labour and costly machinery if it were only to make a loss. So, unless a profit can come from selling cars, none of them will be turned out. Motor cars, of course, are not peculiar in this. No clothes would be tailored, no houses built, no television sets assembled, if there was no prospect of a profit being realised somewhere along the line. Nobody would cut your hair, or put you up in an hotel, or entertain you. Even food production depends upon profit.

Here we have one of the current worries of British politicians. Barley growers in this country have every prospect of harvesting a record crop this year. Are they pleased about this? Do they look forward eagerly to the harvest festivities? They do not. For the French also have a lot of barley in the offing and so have the farmers in Western Germany. All of them have their eyes on the barley market in Great Britain. Meanwhile, the Russians have already shipped some of their surplus barley over here and, because they are determined to sell the stuff no matter how cheaply, they have knocked the bottom out of the market. (Let nobody assume that a commercial surplus of barley in Europe means that all human needs for it have been fulfilled. China, faced with famine, has been forced to ask Canada and Australia for shipments of it on credit. And she Russia's ally, too.)

The result of unloading so much barley onto the British market has been to force the price down to less than £16 a ton—and it may fall further yet. Now, if farming was carried on for some other reason than profit-making, we might expect a measure of satisfaction that there is so much barley knocking about. But this is capitalism: we need not be surprised that the British farmer is anything but satisfied. The National Farmers' Union, in fact, has asked for action under the Customs (Dumping and Subsidies) Act to keep out the foreign barley.

This does not mean that British farmers are always in favour of tariff protection for all British industries. Just like any other industry under capitalism, the farmers are interested in holding onto their own markets and in getting the best price they can for the goods they sell. When they buy goods, their attitude is rather different—they want them as cheap as possible, even if it means that foreign industries must be allowed to export cut price commodities to this country. For example, British farmers would like to see unrestricted entry allowed for fertilisers and farm machinery, and some for feeding stuffs. A couple of years ago, the chairman of the Farmers and Smallholders Association spoke bitterly of what he called "... the fertiliser monopoly ..." making "... at least an extra £10 millions by charging the British farmers more than the European price for fertilisers. This racket," he said, "Could be stopped overnight if the Government would remove the protective duties on imported fertilisers, and the taxpayer would immediately be saved £10 millions in farm subsidies."

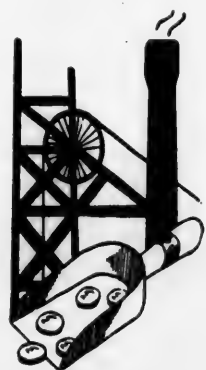
Presumably, the fertiliser firms have different views on the subject. Although they would not like to see the tariff wall which shelters them knocked down, they might perhaps be in favour of cheap barley and other foodstuffs, which might mean fewer wage claims for them to face. Now if you were Minister of Agriculture or President of the Board of Trade, how would you sort that one out?

Whatever you did, you could bet on it that there would soon be another, similar problem clogging your In tray. For not only the farmers and fertiliser kings are in conflict over issues like tariff protection. Capitalism, because it moves on its bearings of profit motive, turns up a multitude of opposing interests. It is the politician who must sort them out and must offer his solution to the voters as the sanest, surest method possible. Per-

continued bottom next page

FINANCE

INDUSTRY



Chancellor's Pay-roll Tax

IN THE BUDGET earlier this year the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he would get power to levy a Pay-roll Tax to be used, when he thought fit, as a means of encouraging employers "to use more labour-saving machinery" and seek ways of cutting down the number of workers they employed. The amount proposed is 4s. a week for each worker, the tax to be paid by the employer.

It had a very hostile reception, not only from the Opposition but from many Conservative M.P.'s and employers. Nobody seems to have remembered that a "Keynesian" scheme very similar to this was agreed by the three political parties in the war-time national government and set out in a document called *Employment Policy*, which was to be the blue-print for maintaining full employment and for preventing prices from rising. It was to be operated by making workers and employers pay higher national insurance contributions when unemployment fell to a low level, and lower contributions when unemployment increased. The idea was that if demand for consumer goods fell and unemployment increased, reduc-

continued from previous page

haps, at the previous election, he offered an opposite policy, which he said was also sane and sure. Never mind. The good politician has no difficulty in skating around that one.

And while the politicians are sorting and skating, what of the working class who so affectionately vote them into power-time and again? They are the people who suffer, and are exploited as a result of the anomalies of capitalism. However hard the going a politician must endure, it cannot compare with the rough road of working class existence. So—who'd be a worker? There are millions and millions of them, and hardly one of them has any say in the matter.

IVAN.

ing the national insurance deduction would encourage more spending: and if demand for consumer goods increased too much, some of the spending would be halted by levying higher contributions. The suggested range was from a top-rate of 10s a week (workers 5s. 6d., employers 4s. 6d.) to a lower rate of 5s (3s. and 2s.).

Like many other plans it has never been used, so we have no factual evidence to show what result it would have had.

Discussion about the proposed Payroll Tax has however produced some interesting information about developments in industry that have been going on and would presumably be stimulated by such a tax. A contributor writing to the *Financial Times* (8/7/61) states that in the engineering and building trades there is an increasing tendency for work to be done by small contractors without any direct employees themselves:

There are in the engineering trades today thousands of one-man firms or small companies where the entire labour force consists of directors and which have no pay-roll at all. These firms produce drawings or tools on a free-lance or sub-contract basis for the larger organisations. In the building trade there is a growing tendency for the craftsman, plumber, mason or joiner to employ himself and hire his labour out to the small builder who again may have no pay roll at all.

Impetus has been given to this by the development of small electrically driven machines which can be set up in home workshops and he says that on the Continent the idea has been extended to the point of operating a factory on the basis that the workers come in as self-employed master-men, hire the machines and sell the products to the management without any wages relationship. As the contributor points out, a pay-roll tax levied on the number of workers directly em-

ployed would be avoided by these methods.

Notes on Automation

SIX YEARS AGO in these columns (September, 1955) the opinion was expressed that automation would not develop in this country as quickly and extensively as many people were claiming. It is interesting to look at some of the trends to see what has happened since then and is likely to happen. The prevailing mood of comment today is one of caution, allied with disappointment about the results of automation so far. Often there is contrast with the progress made in other countries, especially America.

Mr. F. Griffiths of the British Motor Corporation writes that in the motor industry "the pattern of automation... still remains mainly in the machine shop. Basic processes, such as the foundry and the forge have not yet been given any consideration to enable real automation to be installed." (Electronics and Automation Supplement to the *Financial Times* (23/1/61). Mr. Griffiths lists the many technical and organisational problems that need to be solved before automation can become general in the motor factories. A scientific correspondent in the *Financial Times* (8/1/60) estimated that it might be 1965 before this development was completed.

In the field of electronic computers for commercial purposes, experience has been mixed. According to a correspondent writing in 1959 (*Financial Times*, 2nd April) many firms that had bought computers for commercial purposes had found them a failure from the financial point of view. But in the engineering and scientific fields "there have been equally remarkable successes."

And while automation and electronics manufacture have rapidly grown to "big business," employing nearly a quarter of a million people, there aren't enough orders for the home market and according to a report in the *Times* (29/11/60) almost every firm in the business is losing money on its manufacture of data processing equipment.

As regards the total numbers of workers employed, the process of automation in the past six years has had little effect, either in manufacture or in offices, though clerks in banking and elsewhere are becoming increasingly worried about the future, especially on promotion prospects. In factories and offices shift working and night work will increase.

With government encouragement, designed to prevent industry in this country

falling behind its competitors, automation and similar innovations in factories and offices will develop at an increasing pace, but none of those who sweepingly claim that automation brings about enormous economies in labour and materials (productivity up tenfold, costs reduced 25 per cent. to 40 per cent—*Financial Times*, 8/1/60) have explained why automation so far has had so little impact here or in any other country.

Why have not these alleged savings of labour shown themselves in falling prices? The answer in most instances is that even when the labour-saving is as high as stated it is effective only in a small part of the total process of production. If labour is reduced by say 40 per cent. in processes representing a quarter of the total factory operation, the average for the whole factory operation is 10 per cent., and if production and transport of materials is not affected the overall reduction from start to finish may be less than 5 per cent. And this leaves out of account the, sometimes, greatly increased amount of labour needed for production and maintenance of the automation plant.

Living in one room

WORKERS HAVING a hard time in the country of their birth find it easy to accept travellers' tales about the summer weather and the "gold paved streets" in some other part of the globe. Governments all try to counter these beliefs because they encourage discontent.

Recent observers from both sides of the "curtain" have been commenting on housing conditions in Britain and Russia. First, we have Mr. Yur Fokin, a Russian broadcaster, who wrote in the *Daily Express* (13/6/61) giving his eye-witness impressions of this country. Mr. Fokin said he was surprised to notice in London "sharp differences in the type of districts where people of different classes live." He said it was very strange to Russian eyes because "in Moscow, for instance, there is no class distinction."

As it happens an Englishwoman, Mrs. Reita Ovsyannikov, married to a Russian, has just returned to this country after thirty years in Russia. In her article in the *Sunday Telegraph* (9/7/61) she notes the contrast that Mr. Fokin did not see. She writes that "even to this very day, most Russian families have to make do with one room," but because her husband belongs to "the managerial class" and she also had a highly paid job: "We enjoyed a far better standard

of living than the great majority of Soviet citizens. For the last ten years of our life in the Soviet Union we had a flat of our own, a car, and all the money we needed. It was not luxury by Western standards, but we were comfortable."

Many visitors to Russia have commented on the large number of families compelled to live in one room and nobody, not even Mr. Fokin, believes that Krushchev and the other V.I.P.'s or the "rouble millionaires" live in one room. Mr. John Cole (*Guardian*, 7/6/61) also noted "the very limited living space compared with that expected by English families," but he described the comparison "misleading" because "The Russians like the Swedes and French attach less importance to homes than the English." The implication is that "Russians" and Swedes and French don't mind living in overcrowded conditions. If this is so, why doesn't Mr. Krushchev live in one room? And why was the Englishwoman quoted above glad to be able to afford not to?

The truth is quite simple. It is nice to be rich in any country and if you are rich you don't have to put up with the conditions suffered by the poor: which includes the Glasgow home visited by the Queen on 30th June—a man, wife and four year old son living in one room.

Not belonging

THE DOUBLE-TALK of politicians, newspaper editors and business men is sometimes so odd as to be hardly comprehensible, as witness an editorial in the *Daily Mail* on 1st July.

Just about the time that there was an "unofficial" strike at Ford Motor works called by the shop stewards, the firm's chief medical officer was at a conference on automation telling the delegates the secret of "good labour relations." He said that "all employees need to have a feeling of belonging to the company," each one "must feel he counts as a person."

These events inspired the leader writer of the *Mail* to try to explain to the Ford workers what is the true shape of things:

The war cry of one of these shop stewards is worth recording. "Nobody here," he shouted, "wants to see the Ford Motor Company win."

But who and what is the Ford Motor Company if it isn't the 20,000 workers he

was talking to? Are they not as much the Ford Motor Company as Mr. Ford himself, or any of his directors or executives?

Of course, legally the Ford Motor Works and all its properties belong to the company, in effect the shareholders, to whom also the £18 million profit in 1959 belonged. And last year when the American Ford company bought out the 45 per cent. of the shares that they did not already hold, for £129 million, they paid the money (£7 5s. 6d. per share) to those shareholders. The English company, now therefore belongs wholly to the American Company. The 20,000 Dagenham workers who, according to the *Mail* are the Ford Company as much as Mr. Ford himself, weren't even asked whether they wanted the sale to go through, much less paid for handing over what the *Mail* thinks is their own company.

And is it surprising that the strikers wanted to win their wage-claim? They no more wanted to see Fords win than the Ford's management wanted to see them win. The strikers and the management both see plainly that there is a conflict of interests between them.

Which brings us to the firm's medical officer who worries because the workers don't feel that they belong. Why has it not occurred to him that perhaps that is just what irks the workers at Dagenham and elsewhere? They feel very strongly that they are treated as if they *do* belong to the firm, as if they were part of the equipment, along with the machines and trucks and typewriters; instruments for making profit.

If the medical officer ever happens to meet one of the Ford family or other owners he should watch them closely to note if they, too, suffer from any feeling of frustration or sense of, "not belonging." Then the secret will be revealed to him. He will find that they "belong" all right, because Fords belongs to them.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford might also tell him more about the £100,000 they spent recently on a party for their daughter (reported in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 25/7/61). Just one daughter, one party, one hundred thousand Pounds.

H.

STOP PRESS !
Socialist Rally Conway
Hall, July 19th was a
great success.
See Sept issue for report

YE DAUGHTERS OF ISRAEL WEEP

The State of Israel, now thirteen years old, has, by Jewish custom, come of age. It is timely, therefore, to attempt an assessment

(1) The Zionist Movement

The assumption underlying the Zionist movement was that to establish a "national home for the Jewish people" was the only way to end their age-old persecution, especially under the yoke of the Tsars. This closely mirrored the aspirations of other thwarted nationalities such as the Poles, the Czechs, the Finns and the like. There were, of course, workers who were taken up with this cause but very few of them prior to the first world-war. Cramped into a narrow strip of the vast Russian Empire, the Jewish millions lived almost entirely in the towns, where they formed the majority of the population. They were skilled and unskilled workers; some on the land, more in the factories and workshops; they were porters and cart drivers. Only a minority were merchants of any substance, bankers and factory owners. In this background it was the idea of Anarchism and Social-Democracy that gained the greatest acceptance. The Jewish Labour League, the Bund, which was affiliated to the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, had as its purpose Jewish cultural autonomy within a Social-Democratic Russia. They saw that on the principle of divide and rule the Tsars had actually fostered anti-semitism. They were convinced that the Jewish problem was a by-product of the private property system and would end with the end of that system. They did not think in terms of a return, to "the promised land" as a solution to their problems. Neither did the Anarchists.

Emigration to the freer and relatively more prosperous West, the Russian Revolution, and the rise of Nazism, affected Jewish opinion overwhelmingly. In the new conditions Anarchism died a natural death. Faith in a Social-Democratically reformed Capitalism withered in the face of the anti-semitic mass hysteria that was being harnessed to the needs of the German ruling-class. Faith in Bolshevism, on the part of others, was likewise to vanish when the Soviet reality became clear. The end of the second world-war saw Zionism reap-

ing a harvest of disillusionment and despair.

Out of the ruins of war, emerged the Jewish survivors. Despite the brutally callous turning back of their ships by the British Labour Government, many joined with the pioneers to oust the British and set up the Jewish State, under a Labour Government strangely enough. Few who had witnessed the holocaust of the Jews could fail to be moved by the determination of the survivors to have a home of their own, to live in a land where they could walk with heads held high, where they could till the soil and make the desert bloom and little by little heal the wounds of two thousand years. But national ideals and political reality have never been compatible and never can be. True to form, the territorial demands of one set of Nationalists were diametrically opposed to the demands of the other set. The "solution" of the Jewish problem turned out to be its transference from Europe to the Middle-East.

(2) The Arab States

The Arabs, too, had national aspirations that had been thwarted by Turkish domination in the first instance and by an Anglo-French carve-up of the region subsequent to that. The Arabs were divided into several different states each of which was subservient to external forces. They were puppet states, mandates and protectorates. In order to weaken Germany's ally Turkey, Britain had deliberately cultivated an Arab sense of national identity during the 1914-18 war. Once victory was won, this policy no longer served British Capitalism and it was dropped. Henceforth, playing off one oil producer against another, one tribal dynasty or one community against another, paid better dividends. Once created, however, Arab nationalism filled a need and the Pan-Arab capitalist class to be saw to it that not only did it survive but that it flourished. In Palestine, where a majority of Arabs had lived for centuries, the territorial demands of

Jewish and Arab nationalism proved utterly irreconcilable. When the clash came the Zionists, who were then militarily superior to the combined Arab armies, gained a victory sufficient to set up a state, but with less territory than had traditionally been demanded. The price, in human terms, entailed an entire new "exodus." A million Arab refugees subsist to this day on the verge of starvation, caged like animals, within sight of Israel's borders. They refuse to move. They, too, insist on going home.

The popular insistence on an eventual "ingathering of the exiles" does not, in fact, explain why the Arab governments have left the refugees idly by the frontier, breeding and hating. With the calculating cynicism normal to ruling classes, they are seen as an invaluable political weapon.

Over the past thirteen years the situation within the Arab states surrounding Israel has not remained static. The Zionist claim that hostility towards Israel was fostered by corrupt feudal potentates out of fear that their peoples would demand similar living standards and civil rights obviously has some truth in it. But this is less the case now than hitherto. The United Arab Republic and Iraq have both undergone substantial changes in social organisation. Many of the kings who had been propped up by foreign and feudal interests have been swept away. A rigorous process of national capitalist development is taking place. Today, a key reason for continued hostility to Israel is an external one. In facing the pressures of both western and eastern imperialism, a show of Arab unity is of no mean value in the bargaining chamber of the United Nations. Conflicting as their economic interests are, hostility to Israel presents the one issue on which they can all agree. Had Israel not existed, the Arab states would have had to invent it!

It would be a mistake, however, to forget the real possibility of Israeli expansion which would inevitably be at the expense of the Arab states. If increased to any extent, the pressure on land and resources is bound to become explosive if Russia was to permit the emigration of any number of her two million Jews, for example. Meanwhile, Israel's governments being subject to the wishes of an increasingly nationalistic electorate, cannot afford to ignore their

expansionist demands.

In the sort of way that the Russian Revolution was able to command a great deal of passionate though misplaced devotion, so Israel could never have been established without tragic sacrifices and self-less idealism on the part of many of its people. But as in all cases where it has been argued that the end justified the means, it is the very idealists who are most bitterly disappointed by the outcome. Self-styled Socialists, whose working-class solidarity was suspended "for the duration" in order to slaughter their Arab neighbours, are shocked that what was begun as a tactical measure has become a permanency. Militarism, even trigger-happiness at times, has come to stay. A flag-wagging mentality, convinced that one Israeli is worth any three Arabs, is easier to pound out of the propaganda machine than the former subtle distinctions between reactionary Arab rulers and misguided soldiers who were but pawns in the game. Strikers have learnt that Jewish truncheons wielded by Jewish policemen feel just as unpleasant. They even have a Jewish problem in Israel, what with pietists who deny the authority of a *man-made* Jewish state which profanes the language of the Bible by every day usage, and the religious discrimination against Indian Jews as regards marriage rights.

(3) Communal Farms

For the Zionist who had ideals, the bitterest pill of all is the changing rôle of the Kibbutz. The pioneers regarded these communal farms, this utopian Socialism of a kind, as the pattern of the future nation. Just as the American "wild-west" was penetrated and peopled in the first instance by dissenting communities of one kind or another; just as they imagined they were building Christianity or Communism all by themselves, so the Kibbutznik has extended and strengthened the national horizon to see, on arrival, the growth of a way of life the very antithesis of all that he stood for. Who but ascetics or visionaries could have built a city at Salt Lake or planted a forest in the Negev? Yet they pave the way for class divided capitalism of one kind or another.

If the heirs to the mighty Russian Revolution were to be forced by the exigencies of their historic and economic situation along paths not of their choosing, how much less realistic were the hopes of those who saw in a "national home" an end to struggle and to strife? Israel's international position, a tiny state among the giants, illustrates their

dilemma. What Jew would have believed thirteen years ago that Israel-made machine guns would be used by the German Army? Did the Zionist, on the morrow of statehood, think it possible that his country's subsequent dependence upon French aid and arms would make him victim of the same moral degeneration which France itself has suffered under the weight of iniquity in Algeria? Which of their Labourites could have foretold an alliance with the

(4) The Eichmann Trial

And now in this year of reckoning, British Tory Government over Suez? year thirteen, Eichmann, demonic scourge of the Jews stands, as Torquemada never did, in the dock at Jerusalem before the judges of Israel. Underlying the whole structure of bourgeois law is the maxim that "might is right." But if we were to accept its claim to dispense a timeless "justice" to all men it would be hard to deny the monumental appropriateness of the exterminator's trial before his surviving victims. However, we Socialists spread throughout the world as we are, hold that for justice to be done the entire social system would have to stand trial and be found guilty. But what can we say of Capitalist morality which sanctifies the annihilation of Hiroshima or approves the crushing of Budapest but heaps all wrath on the head of one of its creations? Courts of law are not competent to judge the barbarity of our present social system. They are there to condemn those who *lose* the struggles that go on within it. Then all sense of common guilt, all sense of common responsibility that weighs so heavy on the conscience of man in Capitalist society, can be relievingly focused on some now helpless perversion of a man.

As to the why and wherefore of this latest show-piece of the prevailing quality of moral standards, we strongly suspect an element of political manoeuvre. Ben-Gurion faces other contenders for power as the recent "Lavon Affair" showed. With French backing he was able to take up an intransigent attitude towards his enemies. Despite General de Gaulle's assurances to the contrary at their recent meeting, once France has made peace with Algeria her enthusiasm for Israel is likely to wane. Friendship with an oil producing Arab Algeria will have far greater rewards to offer. With diplomatic relations re-established with Nasser, Israel cannot expect supplies of arms from Britain. Nor does Kennedy have the slightest intention of jeopardis-

ing the interests of the class he represents for the sake of Israel, however much it grieves the New York Jewish voters. His aim is to woo the "uncommitted" nations, most of which side with the Arabs.

An increasing fear of military isolation in a situation where Russian training and arms have immensely strengthened the Arab armies has resulted in pressure from some Israeli quarters for some sort of compromise with the Arabs. If Ben-Gurion, by staging a show-trial which by its ghoulish recital of the most hideous details of Nazi crime, can raise a wave of nationalistic frenzy, he will ride it to victory at the polls.

The evidence is with us. Zionism has failed to achieve its objectives. Inevitably so. So long as there are Jewish workers attached in any numbers to the divisive and anti-working-class national idea, so long as their (and our) Arab brothers believe likewise, so long will strife ensue, so long will their respective ruling classes remain in the seat of power. The Jewish problem remains with us. It is an aspect of the working-class problem which has no solution outside of world-wide Socialism.

E. S. G.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Notes on Economic History (10)

The Value of Labour-power

ADAM SMITH wavers in his analysis of commodities and there is confusion regarding the determination of exchange value. He determines the value of a commodity by the labour time contained in it, but then relegates the principle to older or more simpler times. What seems to him to be true about a simple commodity does not apply to the more complex forms of capital—wage labour, and rent. The value of commodities, he says, *used to be measured by labour time.*

There is also confusion in his analysis of commodities about which he varies regarding the determination of exchange value. He makes the exchange value of labour, wages, the measure of the value of commodities. Thus, wages are equal to the amount of commodities purchased by a stated amount of living labour, or to the quantity of labour which can be bought by a given quantity of commodities. The value of labour, or rather labour power, varies, like all other commodities, and in this respect does not differ in kind from the value of other commodities. And so value itself becomes both the measure and the explanation of value and we go round in a circle.

Marx has demonstrated the fallacy of this reasoning. He also said, very appropriately, "It is one of the chief failings of classical economy that it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and in particular of their value, in discovering that form under which value becomes exchange-value. Even Adam Smith and Ricardo, the best representatives of this school, treat the form of value as a thing of no importance, as having no connection with the inherent nature of commodities. The reason for this is not solely because their attention is entirely absorbed in the analysis of the magnitude of value. It lies deeper. The value form of the product of labour is not only the most abstract, but it is also the most universal form taken by bourgeois production, and stamps that production as a particular species of social production and thereby gives it its historical character."

Adam Smith also saw that profit sprang from the exploitation of labour, for he says: "The value which the workmen add to the materials therefore resolves

itself in this case into two parts, of which the one pays their wages, the other the profits of their employer upon the whole stock of materials and wages which he advances." But he also confused surplus value and profit.

Smith was the product of the early manufacturing period in this country. He made a valuable contribution to political economy, and was one of the most painstaking and critical of the small band who tried before Marx to find out what makes society tick.

R. A.

The Housing Question

A place of your own

ONE of the prime necessities of life is shelter. A lot of people make a living by letting rooms whilst others augment their weekly wage by doing the same thing. Here in Britain at the moment quite a number of people because of their poverty are living in furnished rooms. This can be dear enough but they have got to pay up and like it. The same also goes for the people who are "lucky" enough to find unfurnished accommodation.

There are also the Council houses and flats built specially for workers. Surely the nice newness and smarter surroundings of a modern self-contained flat with all amenities should have been the means of bringing about a happy carefree attitude among those tenants? But the struggle over the St. Pancras council flats, the Kenistoun House barricading shemuzzle, along with the other unhappy incidents up and down the country speak for themselves.

Another side to this housing tragedy is revealed by those who find themselves in the position of having a bit of surplus space in their houses and who, instead of utilizing the roominess for their own comfort, are stricken with a kindness of thought and let their rooms to the more unfortunates at two, three or four pounds a go. The kind of room in which you can clearly walk around the table is classified as a "double room", compared with the one in which, when you open the door, you trip over the bed. This obviously becomes a "single bedsitter", and it's amazing the number of people who cook, eat, sleep, wash, read and attempt to entertain in such

quarters. Yes! 1961 and all that.

The *Guardian* recently told of a Londoner walking through Berkeley Square with one of the African delegates from the Rhodesian Conference, listening to him talk about the problem of low wages in so many parts of Africa. Wages are so low the *Guardian* reported the African as saying, that in his own territory the African worker had to have subsidised housing, as in so many cases the bread-winner earned only £6 per month.

After they had parted the Londoner made his way across the Square. Something in the window of an estate agent's office caught his eye. It was a modest sign advertising a "mews cottage in Knightsbridge at 150 guineas. He found on enquiry that it contained two maids' bedrooms and a dressing room as well as two ordinary bedrooms and was furnished in antiques of impeccable pedigree. The rent—£150—per week. The figure, the girl agreed, was high but it broke no record.

But remember this. Even if the worker were to live rent free in one of the Stately Homes with its own approach and the forecourt framed with iron wrought gates, and surrounded by North, South, East and West lawns—if he still had to work for a living he would be no better off. As Engels said so long ago,

Let us assume that in a given industrial area it has become the rule that each worker owns his own little house. In that case the *working class of that area lives rent free*, housing expenses no longer enter into the value of its labour-power. Every reduction in the cost of production of labour-power, that is to say, every permanent price reduction in the worker's necessities of life is equivalent "on the basis of the iron laws of the doctrine of national economy" to a depression of the value of labour-power and will therefore finally result in a corresponding drop in wages. Wages would thus fall on an average as much as the average sum saved on rent, that is, the worker would pay rent for his own house, but not, as formerly, in money to the house-owner, but in unpaid labour to the factory owner for whom he works. In this way the savings of the worker invested in his little house would in a certain sense become capital, however not capital for him but for the capitalist employing him.

J. MCG.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

What is a Wage-slave?

MASTER AND WORKER

HOW OFTEN has it been proclaimed that the planning of constitutions and the founding of leagues of nations have been for the purpose of establishing equality among all men. Yet, as long as capitalism exists, the equality of men can be nothing more than a Utopia, or, at best, just a fancied reality. Laws may propose that employer and worker have equal rights; that just as employers have the right to employ or not to employ, so have the workers the right to work for whomsoever they please. But do these rights exist in fact?

On the employers' side, there exists not only the "right," but the power. This may not apply to those who, by their own desperate struggle and long hours of work, manage to run small businesses with a return hardly higher than the wages paid to an outside worker. These are not capitalists, but men forced to work, very often more arduously than most other workers. They may delude themselves that they are "upper class," but actually they are of that vast army which must toil in order to live.

When Socialists speak of the employing or the capitalist class they refer to that small class in current society which, enabled to employ and to exploit the workers by its ownership of the land, factories, mines, railways, etc., is, if necessary, able to live without working upon the proceeds.

This, then, is the capitalist class; the class of employers, of masters. At the sweet will of this class men can be employed, exploited, dismissed. And in each of these eventualities the right and the power of the capitalist are plainly visible.

From the very first appearance of a working-class applicant for employment the whip-hand is held by the capitalist. He is seeking a worker whose energy, applied to the tools and material which he, the capitalist, has made available, will create a mass of commodity values and, in due course, blessed and well-loved PROFIT.

This is the sole purpose for which a capitalist employs workers. But, yearned for though they are, profits are not essential in the preservation of life.

Their diminution or failure to rise above a certain level may mean for capitalists a check upon expansion, and a drop in interest, even a curb upon luxurious living. But that is all. Only profits are at stake—not the essentials of life itself.

For the working-class applicant for employment the case is very different. Dependent upon his success or failure is the problem of whether or not he will be able to provide for himself, his wife and family without recourse to assistance boards and the like. Should he fail, will the matter of the new clothes he had promised the children have to be forgotten? Will his wife have to go out to work? Will they have to cut down on the food bill—have marge instead of butter, buy cheaper milk? Must the washing be done by his wife instead of being sent to the laundry? Must he cut out his daily pint and smoke fewer cigarettes? Will he have to take the telly back?

Thus does the encounter between prospective employer and prospective employee show the inequality in the "master and man" relationship. It is further shown when the new worker is absorbed into industry. The "governor" himself is seldom seen in the factory for there is no real need for the presence of one who takes no part in production, and who possibly knows nothing of the working side of the industry. But ever present are the works manager, the supervisor, the foreman, the progress chaser—those members of the working class who, for somewhat higher wages, must see, on behalf of "the governor," that production is carried on speedily, conscientiously, and as profitably as possible. This overseership, whether tyrannous or not, reveals the existence of someone at the top; of an individual or group with something to gain from working-class exploitation.

And where is equality when capitalists, in depressed trade conditions, are unable to sell their commodities? Where is the evidence, then, that working men may work for whomsoever they please—that they need even be employed at all? Where is the "right" to work when the introduction of machinery renders certain

workers redundant? Experience shows that wholesale sackings and dismissals are the accepted order of the day as soon as the employment of workers is not profitable enough. It matters not that these dismissals might mean for the workers involved long spells of unemployment, a depression of living standards already far from satisfying, and minor—or even major—domestic tragedies. For such is the accepted pattern of master-class behaviour in capitalist society. That it is accepted—and not least by those who suffer most therefrom—is the most pitiful feature of modern life.

I. W. H.

SOCIALIST STANDARD
1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose ☐ s ☐ d

Name

Address

News from Wales

THE PRINCIPALITY continues to provide events and talking points for that section of its people (alas, still the great majority) who see no further than the day to day controversies of those personalities and organisations whose business is to carry out the function of maintaining capitalism. The unimportance and—in some cases—the absurdities associated with the comings and goings of the various individuals who make up our Council Chambers can only be appreciated by the Socialists among us who are still much too few to have an effective voice in affairs.

Pride of place must be accorded to the local elections. The usual candidates representing the usual parties, with one or two exceptions, took the field. Labour managed to attract a good deal of support especially in industrial areas though, in rural areas mainly, the Independent

and Welsh Nationalists got a fair number of votes. In the Llanelly area the Welsh Nationalist candidate made great play in his election address on the question of local rates and "abuse" of public funds. The Swansea branch SPGB made a fairly detailed statement on the question of the effect of bigger or smaller rates and tax demands and challenged the participating candidates to show how the raising or lowering of rates and taxes, etc., in any way affected the working class. The challenge was met with a blank silence.

Another point of discussion has been well aired recently, namely, the question of Sunday Opening. Despite the virulent attacks of various religious organizations, the position appears to be well on its way to a final solution—the possibilities being that in the not too distant future one will be able to have a pint of one's favourite on a Sunday. Socialists again see this question in its true perspective and only point out that the "new freedom" when it comes may be such that pub managers and servers, etc., may have to forego a day off. Naturally such workers may be prepared, like so many more, to sacrifice more and more leisure for more and more money in order to catch up with more and more living costs.

The Report of the Committee on the Re-distribution of Boundaries, etc., has created quite a stir. Roughly, the Welsh Counties are to be amalgamated to form five large counties which will presumably cut down costs in administration, Glamorgan being the exception. This again is an example of fiddling with trivialities.

What has concerned many of the steel and tin-plate workers of the Swansea and Llanelly areas recently was the "Lock-Out" that took place at two of the Steel Co.'s of Wales strip mills. Briefly, sales in tinplate have been falling off, with increases in stocks as a result. This forced the Company to reduce the working hours with a resultant loss in wages for the workers. The workers' reply to this has been to operate a "go slow" policy which resulted in the Company closing the factory gates. Now, however, the workers, through their Unions, have informed the Company that "We are prepared to work immediately they call us in." It should be perfectly plain to the workers now that not being owners of the means of production, they have no right to work or be on the premises unless they are wanted. The law, of course, would, if necessary, have fully supported the Company.

We were also to have been treated to a visit from "God Incorporated," the Billy Graham menagerie. Billy, it seems,

was taken ill, but the meeting took place despite this and attracted over 30,000 delirious hymn-singing workers. Some scenes bordered on fanaticism. It may be significant to note, lest one becomes too despairing over the scene of 30,000 workers chanting for "pie in the sky" while the Steel Company locks them out, that a report in the *Western Mail* points out that more and more churches in South Wales are closing down and that there is a shortage of young blood entering the Ministry.

Perhaps we shall be in a position to report in a short while on the German Panzer troops in Pembrokeshire. In the meantime, the invasion has not yet been fully arranged. When it has been then the Welsh contingent of the Polaris army at Holy Loch and elsewhere can "fight" nearer home. As for Socialists in Wales, we try to reach the brains of our fellow workers with all the means at our disposal.

W. BRAIN.

World Socialist Party of Ireland

The Shankill Campaign

On the 13th June, 1961, Belfast Branch nominated Comrade W. Skelton to contest a municipal by-election in the Shankill Ward of Belfast. Shankill is a very safe Unionist (Govt.) Party seat, but we also expected candidates from the Labour Party (which organisation has put in a lot of the usual "ward-healing" work in the area and contested the seat many times) and the Ulster Protestant Action. A Labour nominee did call at the City Hall and collect Polling Registers where he learnt of our definite intention to contest the ward; the fact that on Nomination Day candidates from the Unionist Party and the W.S.P. only were nominated would seem to indicate that our presence dulled the fervour of the Labourites.

Faced with a straight fight with the Unionists we had to make doubly certain that our propaganda in the ward was as far-flung as possible in order to ensure that we did not get the usual Labour and anti-Government vote. In spite of the fact that our opponent (a certain William Christie, owner of a well-known local chain of wallpaper stores) stated that he would hold no pub-

lic meetings but would conduct a campaign with the assistance of a large team of door-to-door canvassers we decided on a full programme of public meetings.

Christie did indeed use a large number of canvassers and several loud-speaker-bearing vehicles to tour the ward nightly: everywhere the message was the same: "A Communist has dared to stand in this loyal ward of Shankill—give them their answer!" Such a message in such an area created difficulties for the reception of our case but, as well, to anyone knowing Shankill and the "answer" usually forthcoming from there, it seemed a direct appeal to violence. We challenged Christie to repudiate these statements or meet us in debate before the electorate and present his evidence of our "communism" but true to the role of cowardly master of a cowardly campaign he answered us with silence.

Night after night during the campaign eighty per cent. of our membership turned up to support the meetings and, when these concluded, give out election Statements. Nearly ten thousand State-

ments, plus five thousand leaflets, were given out in this way and in addition to this large posters were pasted on walls in the ward. Mostly 2 or 3 a.m. was "quitting time" and towards the end a few hardy members had a couple of all-night sessions. As in our last campaign, from which we had scarce recovered, the great majority of our comrades worked splendidly.

Polling day was a dull affair for us. We were unwilling and unable to "man the polling booths" and we contented ourselves sitting convenient to a few of the larger ones suitably identified, in the hope that some people would want to discuss with us. Very few people came on foot to vote and though many did vote for us it is unlikely that they would have run the risk of publicly identifying themselves with us—in view of the considerable show of numbers the Unionists had on duty around their expensively hired caravan Tally rooms at the different polling booths. The Socialist voter living in an area like Shankill has to be very discreet indeed! Between eighty and one hundred cars were in service by

A letter from Weymouth

Dear Comrades,

I am managing to get out quite a bit of propaganda. I emphasised this to the local comrades along with the suggestion that we get together and have a concerted bash at all West Country papers.

My greatest joy was in finding that the local people are not as behind as people in a place like London might think. They are absolutely caught up in the whole tempo of Capitalism. Their moans and groans have exactly the same ring as the workers anywhere.

I am, as you know, here on my own and I am managing perfectly well to carry out as much party activity as could be expected from any one member, no matter how staunch he may be. We have got to start emphasising this to other members strewn all over the place who feel they are living in political isolation. I would like to see a reminder go out to all of them, saying that there isn't anything preventing them from writing in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, selling the S.S., distributing propaganda leaflets, or seeking openings in the correspondence columns of their local papers.

I can appreciate the fact that Socialists will endeavour to speak to people about our case. This just isn't sufficient! We must be busy in more ways than one if we expect to impress and forge ahead. When I approach anybody on any organisation I do not feel lonesome; I act and speak just as if we had a branch, nay, just as if the whole machinery of Socialist organisation was down here beside me. After all, what is a 100 or a 1,000 miles these days, I ask you?

I've written a couple of letters to both Weymouth's local papers. One is still being considered by the editor of the *Dorset Evening Echo*, whilst the other has been published by the *Southern Times*.

The next move, if it comes off, will be meetings on the beach. The corporation will let me know after their committee meeting on July 15th.

J. McG.

the Unionists and bands of women workers plied the streets in the ward trying to keep those cars occupied. In spite of this, however, most of the cars sat for very lengthy periods and often when active it was to convey a single voter. Obviously, in their traditional stronghold, the Unionists were having difficulty in achieving what they cynically refer to as "pulling them out."

With polling over we went to the City Hall for the count. Each candidate had a ticket to attend and a further seven tickets was available to each for the purpose of providing scrutineers. As our candidate was working that evening (at this stage the "count" does not justify loss of earnings—even if the work to that end does!) we had only seven present. The Unionists, on the other hand, must have had several hundred present—by virtue, apparently, of being "visitors" of other Aldermen and councillors, and these conformed with the usual standards of a Unionist mob—mean and vicious, very stupid, and very, very noisy.

When the Returning Officer announced the result, Christie 3,800, Skelton 454 ("the Socialist candidate forfeits his deposit") Christie arose to the howling of the mob but contented himself with thanking the R.O. and staff and claiming that the result "speaks for itself." The mob then began to shout "Where's Skelton?" and it was pretty obvious that they were not bent on sympathy. This cry changed to "God save the Queen," sung lustily, and at this we began the business of leaving with all the speedy dignity we could in the circumstances command.

Looking back at the result we are encouraged. Unlike Duncain each voter had only one vote; the Catholics in the ward did not vote at all, the few "commies" in the area would be naturally hostile and Labourites deliberately abstained or, in some instances, adopted our method of marking their ballot paper (thus: N.I. Labour).

Certainly it is pleasing to think that our existence as a Party caused the Unionists to bring out their Party machine and spend anything from £700 to £800 (in a local government election) to keep Socialism out of a ward they could truly claim to "own." As a result of our campaign we have become very widely known as a political party and this must augur well for the future—even if it creates precedents which necessitate the establishment of an election fund and the promise of much hard work to come!

R. MONTAGUE,
General Secretary.

Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4



August 1911

AUSTRALIAN LABOURISM

LABOUR PRIME MINISTERS and Labour leaders of Australia have been prominent in Great Britain of late owing to the Imperial Conference and the Coronation. . . . All the enemies of Labour have gathered together to do honour to 'these men who have risen from the plough'. Amidst the eulogies of Asquith, Balfour and the rest of the holy capitalist family, they have toured the country urging the propertyless wage slaves to emigrate to the scene of 'Labour's triumphs', and so escape from the sufferings they encounter here.

The State ownership of such services as are already nationalised has been a mixed blessing to the toilers. New South Wales is the State of Labourism's greatest advance, yet the capital (Sydney), will be remembered as the centre of the great strike of State employed tramwaymen for 'a living wage'. State ownership is the refuge of the business man being crushed by the trusts.

THE TAXATION of Land Values is a prominent feature of the Labour programme. Its existence in the Commonwealth has led to it being boomed here, and in view of Australia being the pet example of the 'good' effect of land taxes, it would be well to show their real character and influence.

The great merit of land taxes is said to be the releasing of the land and bringing it within the means of the poor man. But the Labour Premier, Mr. Andrew Fisher, told a deputation from the London Chamber of Commerce that 'land sold at prices quite as high as, if not higher than, those realised before the tax was passed,' and the report (*Manchester Guardian* 14/6/11) goes on to say that 'he asserted that since the tax was passed Australian credit had been higher than for many years before.'

From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD, August 1911

Branch News



BLOOMSBURY

Bloomsbury Branch will not be holding meetings during August as Conway Hall closes for that month. Meetings recommence on Thursday, September 7th at 8 p.m.

EALING

There have been several successful outdoor meetings at Earls Court. More support from members would be welcome as this is an excellent outdoor station, and experience proves that with such regular support these meetings will prove most valuable. Literature sales in particular have been most encouraging.

All members are asked to note that the Branch will close down for its summer break this month. There will be no Branch meetings on 18th and 25th August and 1st September. The outdoor meetings will be maintained during this period.

GLASGOW

Kelvingrove Branch has been working very hard and taking advantage of the good weather. Nine outdoor meetings were held during June—four in Edinburgh. Average audience 125 with literature sales of £1 11s. 0d. and over £2 in collections. In Glasgow, five meetings were held—average audience 50, literature sales and collections over £2.

WEMBLEY

Wembley Branch will not be holding a meeting on August 7th but will resume their meetings on August 14th. A Branch lecture is being held on Monday, August 21st.

LITERATURE SALES

The new Literature Sales Committee has gone into orbit with great success. One of the first assignments was to have a group of comrades outside the Russian Exhibition at Earls Court. Comrades have been there all day, each day, armed with Party literature, in particular the pamphlet *Russia Since 1917*. On one day alone 120 pamphlets were sold—90 of the Russian pamphlet—and on Tuesday evening, July 11th, an urgent call was received at Head Office that they had sold out and urgently needed fresh supplies. A comrade was hastily despatched on his motor cycle with fresh supplies and a call was made for branches to return any spare copies they may have had of the pamphlet. The archives at Head Office were also raided so that all available pamphlets could be sent to Earls Court.

The Literature Sales Committee are now regularly attending political meetings with literature, and comrades are urged to con-

tact them at Head Office giving details of when they are able to sell literature at such meetings. The hackneyed phrase 'Nothing succeeds like success' certainly applies to this aspect of Party activity. As the written word is our major form of propagating Socialism, all comrades can participate in distributing Socialist literature and so help the Party and themselves to bring about a greater understanding of our case by our fellow workers.

P.H.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 pm & 6 pm

East Street, Walworth

August 6th & 20th (11am)

August 13th & 27th (noon)

Clapham Common 3 pm

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 pm

Hyde Park 8 pm

Earls Court 8 pm

Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays

Castle Street, Kingston 8 pm

Rushcroft Road 8 pm

GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Saturdays

Royal Exchange Square 3 pm

Sundays

West Regent Street and Renfield Street Corner 7.30 pm

BRISTOL

Durdham Downs,

Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m.

MITCHAM LECTURE

The White Hart, Cricket-Green

Thursday August 17th 8 pm

"WHERE IS CND GOING"

WEMBLEY LECTURE

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley

Monday 21st August 8 pm

"MORAL REARMAMENT"

Speaker: E. Critchfield

SOCIALIST STANDARD. Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.2.

SOCIALIST STANDARD



Moscow May Day 1961 : Military Missiles on parade

Russia Today

page 136

Also in this issue **Bizerta** (132) **Supply & Demand** (134) **Trade Unionism** (142)

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (7th & 21st Sept) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, Sept 1st, at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Sept 15th at 32 Ickleton Road, Motingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Carr at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCELES 2nd Monday (11th Sept) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove & City) Every Monday 8 pm, Patrickburgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (7th & 21st Aug) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craze Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (13th & 27th September) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (11th & 25th Sept) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (4th & 18th Sept) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th & 28th Sept) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th & 22nd Sept) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 21st Sept 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.



SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

September 1961 Vol 57 No 685

CONTENTS

- 132 News in Review
Bizerta
Common Market
Little Budget
- 133 Who are the Mugs?
- 134 Finance and Industry
Supply and Demand
A Telephone?
The Price of Land
Enforcing the Law
Goodbye Siesta
- 135 Holiday Home
- 136 Spectre Haunting Kruschew
- 138 The Passing Show
- 139 The Theory of Population
- 139 "Socialist" Party of Austria
- 140 Working Class Housing
- 141 Books
YHWH
Latin America
- 142 Letters: Trade Unions and Socialism
- 142 Russia Again
- 142 Buddha's Tooth
- 143 Cinema: MRA's Absolutes
- 144 Branch News and Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to F. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Is it all a mistake?

THERE ARE SOME modern historians who take the point of view that the period between the first and the second world wars was one which saw a succession of diplomatic and military blunders. These blunders, they say, were the cause of the outbreak in 1939 — if the statesmen and the soldiers had somehow been more sensible, it could all have been avoided. Germany could have been contained, there would have been no need for the Western powers to allow the Soviet Union to make the great inroads which she has now made into Europe and the post-1945 tensions would never have happened.

This is a convenient attitude to adopt, for it solves all our problems in retrospect. But it leaves several factors out of account. There may have been mistakes made, by both sides, in the 'thirties. Equally, the statesmen's decisions, in their context, may have been perfectly correct. Whatever the truth of it, there is something which stands above all others as the reason for the declaration of war. German capitalism was trying to elbow its way back into a position of strength and influence and was therefore a challenge to the other capitalist nations of Europe which none of them could ignore.

However clever, or inept, the governments may have been, it would have had no effect upon the threat from Germany. For that threat was the logical continuance of the competitive nature of capitalist society. No statesman—and no historian, for that matter—has ever been able to find a way around the problems which arise from that nature.

And what of the events since 1945? If, as our historians tell us, there were

mistakes before 1939, did they teach anything to capitalism's leaders? The many wars and international crises which we have passed through since then might suggest that they did not. For if 1939 was a blunder, how much greater would be those which have followed and which have nearly landed us into a nuclear war? Was it a mistake to divide Korea? To allow the Russians to take the small Baltic States? Did the politicians err when they divided Germany and Berlin? Now, both sides are declaring that they would go to war again over the division of Germany. Is that another mistake they are making?

No, the "great blunder" theory does not fill the bill. Whatever the incidents which aggravate a tense international dispute, they do not explain the dispute itself. To do that we must explain the basis of capitalist society, its commercial rivalries, its anomalies, its inhumanities. That is the task of workers throughout the world. So long as they blame their leaders' mistakes for the problems of capitalism, they will be content to try to put things right merely by changing the leaders, or by something else equally futile.

Which means that they will not consider Socialism as the only way out of their nightmare. And that is the biggest mistake of all.

Glasgow
SOCIALIST RALLY
ST. ANDREWS HALLS
MID HALL, DOOR G
Sunday 24th Sept, 7.30 pm

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Bizerta

PATRIOTIC FRENCHMEN like to regard themselves as a civilised race, who know all about the finer points of living like making love and drinking the right wine with their food.

They have also showed, in the long Algerian conflict, that they know all about making war and using the right weapons in battle. And if there was any doubt about this, it must have been removed by the short, gory struggle over Bizerta.

Basically, the dispute was simple enough. The French ruling class wanted

to keep the base, to help them look after the commercial interests which they are hanging onto in North Africa, not forgetting the oil in the Sahara.

The Tunisian ruling class wanted the French to leave because they did not want to get involved in any trouble which might follow the breakdown of the negotiations between the French government and the Algerian rebel leaders.

Perhaps the Tunisians did not play their hand as well as they might. Perhaps the French were overhasty. These are the common excuses for the sort of dreadful slaughter which happened when the *paras* went in. They always ignore the real reason for capitalism's horrors. It must be revolting to smash human beings, some of them children, into destruction. But that is what the French soldiers, with their mortars and their guns, did at Bizerta—and all in the interests of their masters.

Which goes to show just how much civilised instincts are worth to the barbaric capitalist social system.

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1961

● Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 Issues 7/6 post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next Issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

rope supplied by the hire purchase companies. Yet they keep their faith with capitalism—if they blame anything, it is the planners, or their plans. But capitalism—unplannable, chaotic, unbudgetable—is always doing its best to teach them better.

Common Market

THE BRITISH CAPITALIST CLASS are gingerly easing themselves into the European Common Market. As they do so, they are full of doubts and hopes.

On one hand, firms in, for example, the car and electric domestic appliance industries, lick their lips at the prospect of easier access to Europe's nearly 300 million customers. Many of these firms have spent a lot of time in summing up their chances in Europe, and are convinced that they will be able to cut a fine dash against their foreign rivals in the Common Market.

On the other hand, industries like agriculture quake with fear at the thought of a flood of cheap Continental produce washing them out of their traditional markets and sweeping away the protection of government guaranteed prices.

Similarly, the Commonwealth countries which sell a lot of agricultural produce to this country are anxious about losing the advantages of Imperial Preference.

These doubts are reflected in the splits in British political parties. Not only the Tories have their doubts; on the Opposition benches, Lord Morrison speaks in favour of the Common Market while Mr. Shinwell and Earl Attlee oppose it. Officially, the Labour Party have no policy in the matter—they abstain from votes in the House.

Some industries may thrive, and others may suffer, because Britain joins the E.E.C. This often happens when capitalist industry is reaching for its markets. But nothing is certain. The Common Market could be a costly flop for Britain—it could turn out, on the whole, to be unprofitable. This is the core of the dispute over Britain's application to join.

For nobody has yet discovered a certain method of guaranteeing industries' prosperity under capitalism. That, in the end, is why the Government have dithered for so long and then gone almost unwillingly to Rome.

Little Budget

MANY BIG-TIME financial editors applauded Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's second attempt at producing a Budget for 1961/2. Here, they said, was the strong medicine which was needed to sort out our troubles once and for all.

This was the sort of comment which greeted Mr. Butler's autumn Budget in 1957, when Bank Rate last went up to seven per cent. It is what is always being said about the so-called remedies for the economic and financial crises of capitalism.

The trouble this time, said Fleet Street, is that we are all living too well. Agricultural workers, who are getting by on an average wage of £10 11s. a week and local government employees who are somehow making do on an average of £10 16s a week, must have been very surprised to hear that nowadays their life is one long spree of opulence.

Whatever measures successive Chancellors may impose, the economy keeps on staggering from boom to recession, from expansion to retrenchment. One budget (often at election time) knocks a couple of pennies off beer, a couple of shillings off income tax. Another puts them back on, or onto something else.

The workers end up where they started, with a personal budget which is very finely balanced, often on a tight-

The stake in "our" Country

Who are the Mugs?

ONE OF THE THEMES on which our newspapers love to turn a spare column is the alleged laziness of the British worker. How often do we read blood-chilling articles about workers over here loafing about all day, whilst industrious foreign workers are putting in an enormous working week? Germans, for example, are said to take only one week's holiday a year, to refuse to strike and to turn out such cheap, efficient goods that they easily outsell the products of their British counterparts. Why, we have even heard the same sort of thing about Russian workers, who were reported to have smiled superior, mystified smiles when they saw English workers knocking off for tea during the preparation of the recent Soviet Exhibition at Earl's Court. Nothing like that, they said, happened in Russia! This, of course, is common stuff. Nobody need feel upset that he does not work hard enough to satisfy his employer. The ideal worker, from the capitalist viewpoint, would be somebody who stuck at it twenty-four hours a day without needing those irksome breaks for sleep, food and the rest of it.

However lazy the British worker is supposed to be the fact is that, like other workers all over the world, he turns out some pretty substantial profits for his master. And with it all he is loyal. In the midst of the worries of working for his living, paying off the H.P., the mortgage and the rest, he also finds time to fret about the fortunes of his ruling class. He will always get upset to hear that foreign capital has moved into the country and has taken over a British company. Remember the fuss about Tube Investments? And later on about Ford? In the 'bus queue, at the bench, around the canteen table, many workers expressed the opinion that this was alien investment with a sinister motive. Some of them thought that behind it all was a scheme to undermine British industry, to buy up a prosperous rival and then let it go bankrupt.

This is a strange idea. The capitalist class find it difficult at times to assure themselves of a profit from their business, let alone deliberately investing a few million into a loss. And we should remember that there are plenty of firms in this country which are offshoots of foreign companies, and which are thriving

concerns. Some of them, in fact, have become larger and more prosperous than their foreign parent. And what about British investment abroad? Do British workers object to that?

They do not—although there is plenty of it. Mr. Heathcoat Amory, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, when questioned in the House about the Tube Investments deal, stated that this country is a net exporter of capital. A few months back, for example, Courtaulds bought a four per cent. interest in the Koppers Company Inc., one of the largest American chemical and plastic concerns. At the same time, they put two men onto the board of the American company. There were, of course, no complaints from Fleet Street about this. No heat was generated under any white collar at this new example of one country investing in another. No British newspaper carried stern warnings about threats to prosperity. Presumably because British workers, like their brothers abroad, are nothing if not patriotic. They think that American ownership of Ford Dagenham must be a baleful influence, but that British investment overseas is an example of enterprise and anyway is all done for the benefit of the natives.

In fact, it is quite unimportant to the British worker whether the firm which employs him is owned by foreign shareholders or not. He can live only by persuading some firm or other to buy his working ability and wherever he works he will receive, on a broad average, the same wage. Every capitalist concern, whatever the nationality of its shareholders, is in business to make profit. It is, indeed, to make more profit that they take the risk of investing abroad. Courtaulds went into Koppers for what they called "... the exploitation of areas of mutual interest." They were, in other words, trying to rebuild some of the investments in the United States which the British government compulsorily sold for them during the war. Nobody has yet found a certain way of making capitalist industry, anywhere in the world, able to rely upon its profits. That is why we have booms and depressions, and why some firms go out of business. All over the world, the interests of the worker must clash with his master's. These are the common problems of capitalism,

which cannot be wiped out by the change of a company's nationality.

Why, then, do workers bother about whether their employer is British or not? Why are they loyal? Because they think that they have some stake in the country of their living, which gives them a common cause with the British capitalist class. And what does this stake amount to?

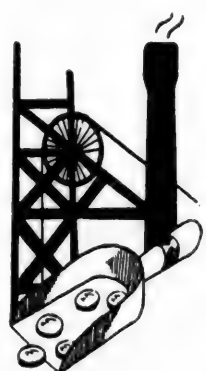
About the biggest and most valuable thing that most workers are ever likely to own is a house. And what agonies they must go through, to get it! First they must take on a lifetime's mortgage or loan which, although in fact it deprives them of real ownership of the house, saddles them with the full legal responsibilities of ownership. If a slate falls off the roof onto somebody's head they—not the building society—must pay compensation. If the house is struck by lightning or damaged by flood water, they must suffer the consequences. The money for the house is often lent at such an interest rate that in the end the borrower will repay about twice as much as he originally borrowed. While he is repaying the loan, his occupation of the house can be hedged about by all manner of legal restrictions, which are imposed to make sure that if he defaults in the repayments the house will have a good resale value. And if in the end the worker has kept up his payments and done everything else that the building society wants, what has he got? A working class house which has cost him nearly twice as much as it would have done if he could have originally afforded to pay for it outright. And the tail end of his life in which to enjoy it.

So much for house ownership. Do the working class own anything else in this country? Over the years, there have been many investigations into relative ownership and incomes. They have always pointed to the same conclusion—that most people own very little and a few people own a great deal. One of the latest of these investigations was carried out by the Oxford University Institute of Statistics. They published the results in their *Bulletin* of February this year. Here are some extracts from it.

There are twenty thousand people in this country with over £100,000 each in capital, averaging £250,000 each. Ten per cent. of the population over 20 owns ninety-eight per cent. of company stocks and shares, and seventy-four per cent. of land, building and trade assets. One per cent. of the over 20 population own eighty-one per cent. of stocks and shares, and twenty-eight per cent. of

continued bottom next page

FINANCE



INDUSTRY

Supply and Demand

ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMISTS who explain and justify economic laws, supply and demand have to be accepted as a necessary mechanism of the free market. If supply increases without an increase of demand prices fall. If demand increases without an increase of supply, prices rise. And this, they say, is all to the good because falling prices of a commodity cause production in that industry to be curtailed and capital and labour move into new industries where they are needed. This argument was used by the Government recently to justify the rocketing prices of land for building: it would, they said, cause owners of land to come into the market and would also

induce more economical use of the limited land available.

But when it comes to wages they find it necessary, in their own interests as employers and property owners, to take a different line. They no longer preach the beneficial effect of a "true market price" when it is wages, the price of labour-power, they are considering.

Politically, for vote-catching purposes, the parties which seek to win elections have to pay lip-service to "full employment" and high wages. But full employment and high wages mean reduced profits, and capitalism, whether under a Tory or a Labour government, can only function when commodities can be sold at a profit. So we have the government at the present time trying to threaten or persuade the workers not to take advantage of the labour-shortage by pressing for wage increases.

One form this takes is that the expanding firms, which need to recruit more workers, offer extra inducements to entice workers away from rival firms. The British Employers' Confederation recently made an analysis of the total wages of industrial and commercial wage-earners. It was summarised in the *Times* and *Financial Times* on July 29. It showed that out of a total annual wage bill of £8,600 millions, only £6,500 million represents the agreed trade union wage for a normal week's work (now generally 42 hours for most workers). A further £1,500 million represents excess payments above agreed rates, paid by employers to attract scarce labour, and another £600 million represents payment for overtime.

Naturally the employers would prefer to get the labour they need without having to compete with each other for it, and the Government shares their view.

But it was just the same under the Labour government. On August 6, 1947 (Hansard, fol. 1514) the Prime Minister, now Lord Attlee, made the following appeal:

I appeal to workers in all industries and employments not to press at this time for increases of wages or changes in conditions which would have a similar effect, especially when these increases are put forward on the basis of maintaining differentials between various categories of workers on the basis of former practice.

Equally, I would appeal to employers not to seek to tempt workers away from essential work by offering higher inducements to work in less essential industries thus creating a vicious spiral.

Thus does capitalism impose its own necessities on those who administer it. In opposition the Labour Party is in favour of high wages; in office high wages become a "vicious spiral."

A Telephone

WHEN THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL recently announced some higher telephone and postal charges figures were given out by the Post Office to the Press about the numbers of houses with and without a telephone. According to the *Daily Mail* (25/7/61) there are over 13,000,000 homes without a telephone. To install one telephone to each home would involve a capital expenditure of £1,500 million and a post office official is quoted as saying that the idea of a phone in every home is "dreadful nonsense."

The number of people with a residential telephone is less than 3½ million, of whom one million have a shared telephone.

The price of Land

THE HIGH PRICES of land in Britain, resulting from the pressure of demand on limited available areas have their counterpart in Germany and Japan. A letter in the *Times* (26/7/61) contains the following about Germany:

At Hofheim the price of farm land has gone up from DM.3 to DM.30 per square metre (equal to, say, £1.075 to £10.750 per acre). At Bad Soden the ratio is the same, from DM.5 to DM.50 (£1.790 to £17.900) and even to DM.70 (£25.070). Even near towns like Giessen, where there is not yet much industry, the price is around DM15 (£5.370).

Near Cologne, beyond the green belt, the price in 1950 was DM8 (£2.865) and is now some five times more, while in Kiel it is as high as DM.90 (£32.230) for residential sites.

It is the same in Japan, as reported from Tokio in the *Guardian* (19/5/61):

HOLIDAY HOME

A modest middle-class part-Western house in Tokio is rented at from £60 to £90 a month to which must be added about £30 to £40 monthly for utilities and service. Land prices in downtown Tokio are higher than in London's West End or New York's Madison Avenue. In good class residential areas of the city, the pressure of population has increased land values by 4,000 per cent in 10 years—and land continues to increase in value in most parts of Japan on average by 20 per cent annually.

Enforcing the Law

THERE ARE MANY well-intentioned reformers who work on the assumption that when you pass a law declaring something to be illegal the thing ceases. They forget that economic pressures go on operating and if strong enough will find ways of evading the law. In times of depression minimum wage laws cease to have any particular effect because workers would rather give up their legal rights to the declared minimum wage than lose their jobs.

The *Times* (17/7/61) in a survey of the present position of housing, argues that the Tory legislation of 1957 has failed to achieve the declared objects of the legislators. In particular the *Times* writer estimates that there were at least half a million controlled houses in 1959 that were being let at rents higher than the levels permitted by the Acts. The tenants would rather pay those rents than face the worse alternatives.

Goodbye Siesta

IT HAS BEEN OBSERVED in many countries that among the "advantages" of industrialisation the workers have been forced to forego many of the numerous religious holidays that belonged to earlier and less strenuous times. Now in Spain the government is making war on the siesta and on keeping late hours. A new law requires shops, cinemas and theatres to close earlier, and it is expected that the midday siesta will be shortened.

The *Guardian* correspondent in Madrid (9/7/61) explains this move:

The motive for these reforms is mainly economic. It is hoped thereby to induce more Spaniards in the cities to turn in earlier so that they will be in better shape the following morning to put in a good day's work, which would be in the national interest. The new hours also are intended to bring Spain closer, as it were, to the rest of Europe.

As he trod amongst them with his trolley of coffee, the orderly knew that this was one of their bad days. Sometimes they were cheerful—gratingly, hysterically so. Sometimes apathetic. Today, they were sombre, only wanting to talk about their afflictions, to tell each other what it was that had laid them paralysed and incapable in the forecourt of the Holiday Home.

"Experiments with atom bombs, messing about with nature," said Wilkie. "That's what I reckon gave me my stroke."

"What's the good of war," gloomed the man alongside, "Cost me my arm and paralysed my thigh. Now I'm just a burden to my family. Might as well be dead."

I should break this up, thought the orderly, this is the worst mood of all. Then Old Harris chimed in, bringing what he always imagined was sunshine and relief into the invalids' depression.

"I'm as helpless as any of you," he said, his eyes gleaming. "But I don't blame it onto war or bomb tests. Our troubles are sent by the good god, to test us. We must suffer gladly. I may be laid up, with only a small Army pension, but thank God I get by."

"Good god," screamed Ethel from her chair. "If he's so good, why does he allow all this badness in the world he's supposed to have made, eh? Answer me that."

The orderly broke in with quick words, clashing the cups as he spoke.

"Now, now," he said, "You know you mustn't get so het up. Anyway, you're all going down to the front for some sunshine and fresh air. That's what you're here for, sunshine and fresh air."

That calmed them. In their secret selves, they were appalled at the thought of another parade along the sea front. They fell into silence and suffered themselves to the attentions of the orderlies, who came from inside the Home to wheel them off.

They were a tragic lot. Here was a man who had lost his limb because of an apparently trivial scratch at work. Here another whose back broke when he fell from a ladder on a high job. And there were the war wounded. These human wrecks were some of the unfortunate, who had felt the concentration of capitalism's bitterest effects.

For although we know that capitalism

cannot be blamed for every illness and accident, the fact is that it is responsible for many of them.

Some of the most common and persistent ailments which people nowadays suffer are traceable to the stress of modern living—to the working, travelling, eating pace which modern industry and its profit incentive sets for us.

High time for accidents is the time when everybody is going to work—they call it the rush hour and it is in the rush that so many accidents happen.

Capitalism's wars maim hundreds of thousands, and undermine the health of countless others.

But you know all this.

What you may not realise is that, as long as capitalism lasts, there is little chance of society ever really tackling the problem of ill-health and accidents, and of reducing them to the very minimum possible.

We know, for example, that cancer research comes a long way behind arms production in the priorities of modern society. Why is this? Simple answer: arms are more immediately important to the capitalist class than finding a cure for cancer. Arms can be used to defend their commercial interests. Curing cancer would only save a few million lives a year. Who, other than cancer sufferers, would care?

The majority of people get a very measly sort of medical treatment. Who knows—or cares—what future damage is being stored up by the "Get-you-back-to-work palliatives" which the working class are handed by their doctors when they are ill? And who has not noticed that society's medical resources are concentrated only when a member of the ruling class—someone who can afford the best—requires them?

Yes, capitalism stands in the way of many aspects of human advance. Socialism will set free our scientific ingenuity, so that we can really get down to dealing with medical problems.

We hope the invalids enjoyed their outing. And let us look forward to the day when a crippled world can throw away its crutches.

DICK JACOBS.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

THE SPECTRE HAUNTING KRUSCHEV

AT THE END OF JULY the London Press carried reports from Russia about grandiose schemes the government there has announced for a higher standard of living, shorter working hours, free bread, free housing, free transport, free gas and electricity, etc., all by 1980 or thereabouts. According to the *Daily Worker* (31/7/61) this "giant plan for Peace and Plenty" staggered the world! It may not have had that effect on governments and political commentators, but it certainly set them wondering what is the purpose of the manoeuvre and the pressure behind it. Many commentators followed the same line as did Edward Crankshaw in the *Observer* (30/7/61). He sees Khrushchev's new manifesto as a move in the struggle between Russia and China:

With the publication of its long-awaited new Party programme, the Soviet Communist Party has made its supreme bid to recover the undisputed leadership of the world Communist movement in face of the Chinese challenge.

It seeks not only to demonstrate that the Soviet Union is in the lead and intends to stay there, but also to create a new ideological dynamic, thus confounding fellow Communists all over the world who have lately come to the conclusion that they must look to China for aggressive and bold leadership.

One of the issues said to divide the two governments is that the government of China is disposed to achieve its aims by war: Crankshaw continues:

Having asserted its power and the vigour of its intentions, the Soviet Party makes the great reservation which divides it from the Chinese. There must be no war. A war would not prevent the triumph of Communism; but the cost would be so great in misery that it cannot even be considered. Thus, Communists everywhere must continue with their efforts within the framework of "peaceful co-existence." This includes even trying to come to terms for the time being with the United States.

Here is the great issue between Peking, which seeks short cuts, and Moscow, which fears them, having so much to lose.

Here, of course, the interpretation of the hidden meaning of the Manifesto itself has to be interpreted for the Russian and Chinese governments are not really entering into rivalry about ways of achieving Communism—a matter in which they have only a pre-

tended interest. But just as the Western capitalist interest in such things as oil and markets and air routes and strategic frontiers is presented to the workers in terms of democracy, religion and the "Western way of life," so the real aims of the Russia-China group of expanding capitalist Powers are proclaimed in terms of a supposed desire to help the workers; oppose colonialism and promote world Communism.

The Manifesto can then be seen to be both a counter-blast to Western propaganda and an endeavour to strengthen Russia against its threateningly powerful Eastern ally.

We must also remember that when governments draw up programmes and make promises of blessings to come they have their anxious eyes on their own working class. And Khrushchev has one of Russia's own "colonies" much on his mind, Eastern Germany. There the workers, instead of looking East to the Russian paradise flock westwards in their thousands. This kind of political "pie in the sky" is not new in Russia: it is as common there as elsewhere in the capitalist world. Only a year ago Khrushchev was announcing the abolition of income tax, due to be completed by 1965, and in 1952 the *Daily Worker* (4/10/52) had splash headlines like those with which it greeted the latest version. At that time it was "Double Pay and Five-Hour Day" and "Stalin maps the road to Communism." Cyril Ray, who was writing from Moscow to the *Sunday Times* early in 1951 reported that the date then being suggested for the great transformation to Communism to begin was "1960 or thereabouts" (*Sunday Times*, 11/2/51). It would seem therefore that one aim of the new document is to cover up the non-fulfilment of old promises: and more non-fulfilment is provided for in the Russian statement that international complications resulting in increased military expenditure may again hold up realization of the plans. Workers in Britain ought to be well-versed in the methods used by a privileged class to safeguard its privilege by promises of better times for the workers. Lloyd George's "9d. for 4d." which heralded National Health Insurance; his first world war promise of "a land fit for heroes to live in"; the Beveridge plan for the Welfare State, launched during the second world war to keep the soldiers hoping; Butler's promise

of doubling the standard of living in 25 years; Lord Hailsham's forecast (*Daily Express*, 29/4/61) that "the average man will be earning £2,000 a year in a classless Britain by 1984."

The latest venture in this field is the kite flown by the *Times* (13/7/61) about the need for "a new society" to be built in this country: the old new society, "the Welfare State," has already lost its appeal. It should not be necessary to say that there is always a snag about these promises. An economic blizzard blows up, or a war; or re-armament has to have priority; or the multiplication of money wages only means were pounds to buy the same goods at higher prices.

There is no mystery about this once it is realised what is the intention of the promises: that they are designed to take the edge off the workers' present discontent by holding out the hope of future betterment.

The great deception

In the area of theoretical discussion the new Khrushchev programme is offered as a stage in the transition to Communism. Russia is supposed to have first got rid of capitalism, then built up Socialism, and is now wavering towards Communism. This is a piece of myth-making comparable with the way in which the Labour Party in Britain praised Socialism but delivered nationalisation and the so-called Welfare State.

They both evolved the practice of giving the name Socialism to State Capitalism. At the beginning, Lenin, who led the Russian Communists before Stalin, was preaching the need for Russia to have "State capitalism" before they could hope for Socialism; and "Socialism" was being defined by Communists (as by the S.P.G.B.) as "the highest stage of society." Later on, the State Capitalism that Russia had (and has) was falsely labelled "Socialism," an afterthought with an obvious political propaganda purpose.

There is an acid test that can be applied to this and to the other promises; and can indeed be applied to the British Labour Party. However fast or slow they might suppose progress to Socialism would be the Russian Communists and the British Labour Party, both pro-

claimed as an immediate objective, introducing greater equality of income. For Attlee before he became Prime Minister of a Labour Government the conduct of affairs by that government was to be on the principle that "Socialists believe in the abolition of classes and in an equalitarian society" ("The Will and the Way to Socialism," C. R. Attlee, 1935, p. 40). Lenin was equally specific. Russian government officials, industrial managers and technicians and all others were to have the same wage as industrial workers: this was to be the immediate programme. Within a year of promising equality Lenin announced that, because of the shortage of specialists for industry, the government had to pay them high salaries, so the "equal wage" principle was suspended. But it was, in Lenin's words, not to be a change of principle but a regretted temporary suspension. He did not at time try to cover it up but candidly admitted that it was a "retrograde step," forced upon them. Later on the temporary suspension became a permanent and approved Russian government policy and inequality has gone on increasing: a course of events which found its parallel in Britain under Labour government. If now Khrushchev promises that some time in the future inequality is to be reduced it must be weighed against the forty year old pledge made and broken by Lenin.

What we face then is not the image of the future Russia presented by Khrushchev but the present reality. A great, expanding capitalist Power facing its world rivals. Not a "Socialist" economy moving towards Moneyless Communism, but the government which has just re-introduced the death penalty for currency offences. Not the "peace and plenty" of page one of the *Daily Worker* but the capitalist Power boasting on page three of the destructive might of its modern navy. (*Daily Worker*, 31/7/61). Not the supposedly disinterested scientific flight into space by Yuri Gagarin but Khrushchev's "From the point of view of the defence of our country this gives us very great, colossal superiority." (*Daily Mail* report of speech in Moscow, 15/4/61).

Forecasts of free housing, free transport, etc., may look attractive, but in the real world of the ceaseless struggle over wages in their relation to prices they have a very different look. Already in Russia rents are kept at a very low level, so that most workers spend on rent between 3 per cent. and 5 per cent. of the family income. But along with very low rents it is government policy to have very high prices for clothes and so-called "luxury"

goods. And when the *Daily Worker* (31/7/61) reports that by 1980 Russian workers will have "free education at all educational establishments; free medical reviews . . . including the supply of medicines" it is only a development that capitalism can carry without difficulty and, indeed with advantage to the employers. "Free" is an ambiguous concept and free travel for railwaymen in this country has meant a correspondingly low wage, as did low-priced cottages and food for agricultural workers.

One forgotten prelude to the Khrushchev promises for 1980 is the suspension in 1957 of repayment of interest and capital on the Russian Government bonds. The period of "freezing" is for 25 years, which carries us up to the early 1980's. David Floyd (*Daily Telegraph*, 11/4/57) stated that the total accumulated amount of these government loans was £23,500 million, and the annual interest payment to the bondholders £640 million. Like everything else that the Russian government does the Russian workers were alleged to have welcomed the suspension, though it was their own savings that were involved through the year-long practice of calling on them to make a "voluntary" investment of one or two weeks' pay whenever a new loan was raised.

Spectre haunting Europe

The *Communist Manifesto*, published well over a century ago, opened with the resounding words:

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

It was a spectre right enough; both in being a danger for the ruling class and in being exaggerated and distorted in their eyes almost out of recognition. They warded off the threat and capitalism has grown from a European to a world-wide system. Can it now be said that the spectre of communism haunts the rulers of all the world? In the sense that the workers of the world are rapidly approaching common action to get rid of world capitalism, the answer is no; for, to the great harm of the Socialist movement, millions of workers have been persuaded to support Russian State capitalism in the mistaken belief that it is Socialism or Communism and in their

interest; and parallel with this it suits the other governments to represent their economic conflicts with Russia as a struggle against Communism—despite the candid admission of Eisenhower and the late John Foster Dulles that Russia is a "State capitalist" economy.

But it can be said that the rulers of capitalism everywhere are increasingly worried about their inability to keep the workers humble and contented with the lot capitalism provides for them. How else can we explain the spate of promises by all governments everywhere to make life better for the workers?

But we still have to wait on the future to see Russia, America, Europe and the other Powers (and the Pope!) forced into mutual protective alliance by the growth of a Socialist working class in all countries bent on ending capitalism.

H.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

DEBATE

Should Socialists Support CND

October issue for full details

THE PASSING SHOW

From the top

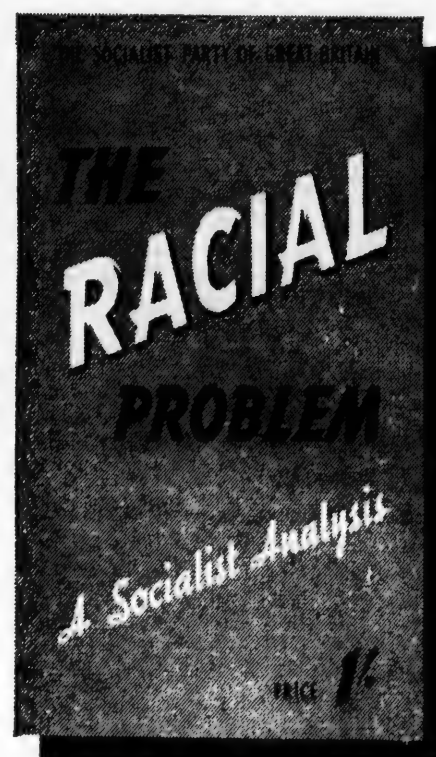
Who is for democracy?

Not Lord Citrine, if we are to judge by his recent speech in the House of Lords. The *Daily Herald* (15/6/61) reported him as saying:

The TUC leadership has been weakened at almost successive annual conferences in recent years.

I have sat and writhed in the balconies time after time when I have seen a wise, constructive policy put from the platform and defeated by the delegates on the floor.

Read



For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

This is lamentable, because I do not think that really broad-minded policy can ever come from the bottom.

I believe it must come from the top, from people who are capable of viewing the whole field.

This is a strong argument for dictatorship, from the man who was for twenty years general secretary of the TUC. If his views are held by many others in the head offices of trade unions, it would partly account for the yawning gap which exists in many unions between the officials and the rank-and-file.

Lord Citrine had more to say. He delivered a swinging attack on the workers for their ignorance of economics. He said:

The average worker has not the least realisation of the dangers of inflation. He does not understand that the economy can get out of hand and that savings can disappear overnight.

Perhaps the workers would show more concern about the fate of savings if the system we live under allowed him to accumulate any savings worth mentioning. But since one of the basic laws of capitalism is that the workers are paid only enough to keep them able to do the work required of them and to bring up the next generation of wage-earners, the protection of savings is a purely academic point for them. Those who have savings, i.e., the capitalists, will do their level best to see that nothing happens to them—even if sometimes, since capitalism is essentially an anarchic system, they are not altogether successful. This is a problem for the capitalists, and we can leave it to them.

Lord Citrine, however, had better be more careful about upbraiding the workers for their ignorance. If they take him at his word, and find out the real nature of the present system of society, their next step will be to end it and to introduce Socialism. And what would happen then to Citrine's noble title, and to the House of Lords where he airs his views, and to the cult of leadership which he supports?

Nothing defensive

Socialists have pointed out many, many times the absurd misuse of words when a ruling class arms itself with weapons

like bombs and then claims that is simply taking "defensive" precautions. The odd thing is that any ruling class, and its tame propagandists, can see this perfectly well—when the actions of any other ruling class are being discussed.

One example was seen recently in the *Times*. The *Times* leader-writers have very often discussed Britain's "defence" preparations, the "defence" estimates, the country's "defence" forces, and so on. But all this was forgotten when the executive of the Indonesian ruling class, President Sukarno, got Russia to agree to supply him with modern military aircraft. The Indonesian claim that these were merely for "defensive" purposes was seen at once as a hollow pretence. What was obscure to the leader-writers when it happened under their noses in Britain became crystal clear in the distant lands of south-east Asia. The first leader (5/7/61) said smugly:

Jet bombers that are as advanced as any in the world have nothing defensive about them and it is obvious enough that West New Guinea provides the motive.

This is quite right, of course: one of the main aims of the Indonesian ruling class is to extend its rule over West New Guinea, which is at present still ruled by the Dutch. Obviously, as the leader says, modern jet bombers have nothing defensive about them. But what a curious case of selective blindness that the writer could not see that this applies to British jet bombers as much as to jet bombers in Russia or Indonesia!

Over-salted

In a world where many millions go hungry, one would have thought that the rich would try to conceal their more extravagant excesses of over-eating. But not so. One American gourmet is on a round-the-world "tasting trip," and the *Observer* (6/8/61) tells us that he arrived in Tokio bringing with him:

... an alarm wrist-watch to time the grilling of steaks, a golden ball which will not sink immediately into caviar if it is over-salted, a miniature pair of scales for weighing meat and a microscope for checking its grain. He also carries a fourteen-point grading chart for statistical purposes.

Perhaps the very insensitiveness of members of the upper class, their willingness to display publicly the great gulf between the rich and the poor, will contribute not a little to their eventual downfall.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Notes on Economic History (11)

The Theory of Population

AS ADAM SMITH'S DOCTRINE spread, it was elaborated and modified. Attempts to develop his ideas led to endeavours to explain the poverty and misery of the working class and all the defects that had become apparent during the rapid development of Capitalism, from the time of publication of his *Wealth of Nations*.

Two contrasted attitudes appeared. One was a condemnation and a criticism of conditions—this led to ideas about Socialism. The other was a pessimistic resignation, accepting the conditions and declaring them to be the result of the working of natural laws. This was the view held by Malthus. Malthus was responsible for two important works; in 1820 his *Principles of Political Economy* was published preceding by some 22 years his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, first published in 1798, and for ever associated with his name.

Malthus begins his statement on population with an account of the "tendency of all life to increase beyond the amount of nourishment available to it." In illustration he quotes Benjamin Franklin—"It is observed by Dr. Franklin that there is no bounds to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Were the face of the earth, he says, vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might, in a few ages, be replenished from one nation only as, for instance, with Englishmen." It follows from this, he says, that population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence.

Studying the increase of population in America, where there was an ample supply of good fertile and virgin land, and where there were few natural checks to growth of numbers, Malthus arrived at the conclusion that during about one hundred and fifty years the population had doubled itself every 25 years. The natural increase of population therefore took place like the increase in a series of numbers—1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256.

In short, population, when its growth is unhindered, tends to increase in geometrical progression.

On the other hand, says Malthus, it is impossible to increase the produce of the soil in such a ratio. Under favourable conditions we may suppose that by improving the land already under cultivation, and by utilising the comparatively poor and neglected land, it would be possible to increase yields considerably. But the increase in twenty-five year periods (those in which population can double) could not be expected to be more rapid than is represented by the series of numbers—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. "It may be fairly pronounced . . . that, considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio." To sum up, whereas population can increase in geometrical progression, the means of subsistence can increase only in arithmetical progression.

Population for Malthus, therefore is limited by the means of subsistence. As a result of the tension inherent in the contrast between these two rates of increase, there is a tendency for population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. The result is that population increases in any country when the means of subsistence increase, whether as a result of more intensive agriculture, the import of food, or changes in the distribution of national wealth. Insufficiency of the means of subsistence, on the other hand, makes itself felt in the form of checks. These checks are of two kinds—positive and preventive.

The positive checks are those which set by destroying existing population: the most obvious are wars, diseases, and famine, but they include every cause, whether arising from ignorance, vice or misery, which in any way helps to shorten the natural span of life. Preventive checks are those which are deliberately undertaken, such as refusal to marry, and what Malthus calls the postponement of marriage, moral restraint. "By moral restraint I . . . mean a restraint of marriage from prudential motives, with a conduct strictly moral during the period of restraint."

The fact that the produce of land is uncertain and irregular was embodied in the "Law of Diminishing Returns." In the cultivation of land, assuming that the technique remains unchanged, Malthus argued that each successive addition of capital and labour applied to it beyond a certain amount (the optimum

expenditure upon a particular technique) produces a smaller increment of yield. Accordingly, beyond the optimum expenditure further increments of capital and labour no longer produce equal additions of yield, but progressively diminishing ones. To put the matter in more general terms—the conditions remaining unchanged, additions of expenditure prove less profitable. If, for instance, the expenditure of £1,000 of additional capital produces an additional product of £500, the expenditure of a second £1,000 will produce an additional product of only £300; that of a third £1,000 will produce no more than £200, and so on.

This "law" has in fact been shown to be fallacious. It assumes that the productive technique remains unchanged, an assumption which is contrary to all evidence. In fact, Malthus himself says that this "law" is valid only so long as agricultural techniques remain unchanged. It would be difficult to find a period since Malthus wrote the essay, during which advanced countries' technique of production has not been continuously changing and must, as man's knowledge increases, continue to change.

R. A.

In Name only

"Socialist" Party of Austria

We have received the following letter from a sympathiser in Vienna, which gives a critical look at the 1961 Annual Conference of the Socialist Party of Austria.

WITH AN IMPRESSIVE SHOW, as befit a government party, the annual conference of the S.P.A. was held in Vienna from June 6 to 9, 1961. Among others, the British Labour Party had also sent a delegate. From the reports of the proceedings and speeches published in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the central organ of the S.P.A. one could gather how much Socialism there is left in the "Socialist" Party of Austria.

"Democracy's big chance," said the chairman and vice-chancellor Dr. Bruno Pitterman. "Would be in the further progress on the road to securing for the workers a voice in the management of

industry, and of participation in the government, corresponding to the election result. Because, for the working people of our times, the ownership of the means of production is no longer the only question which is decisive. To this must be added the right of a voice in the planning of industry and in the distribution of the proceeds. This right of participation, which raises man to a factor of equality, side by side with dead capital, is being refused by both reactionary capitalism, and by the communists."

Thus, Pittermann is satisfied if the workers become "a factor" with equal rights beside "dead capital." He is no longer concerned with the abolition of capital (private ownership). Pittermann seems to be quite oblivious of the fact that capital is not a thing, not some dead object, but a peculiar social relationship between man and man. Did not a certain Karl Marx once scientifically analyse and explain it all?

"Besides the factor capital, the factor labour must at last find recognition" a delegate urged. Thus, despite the S.P.A.'s boasted many decades of activity, the "factor labour" has so far not yet found recognition. This delegate was moreover of remarkable modesty. He demanded for labour no more than a place beside capital. The latter can safely keep its hitherto held position. It would seem that this representative of "Socialism" too had never heard of capitalist conditions and of the capitalist mode of production.

"I should like to once more emphasize," said another leading light, the Sozialminister Proksch, "that over the present questions of the day our social policy must not relegate to a back seat our big fundamental tasks, to which belongs the fresh formulation of the old obsolete labour charter." Proksch distinguishes between the present questions of the day and the fundamental issue, i.e., the essential aim of Socialism. No person of common sense will quarrel with this. Strange it is, however, that a Socialist—and Proksch claims to be one—sees in the new formulation of labour rights a fundamental task of Socialism. Is not the "right of labour" the "right" of those dependent on, and exploited by, capital? Is it not by its very nature committed to perpetuate the existing relationship between wage labour and capital? Even if it be admitted that reforms have brought to labour some alleviation of hardships, it stands in question whether the benefit to the workers outweighs the harm done to the working class movement by this day-to-day reform policy. After all, the "funda-

mental task" of a Socialist Party consists not in perpetuating, but in abolishing the exploitation of the workers by capital. The watchword must ever be REVOLUTION—not reform. But apparently such is no longer Pittermann, Proksch and consorts' concept, if ever it has been.

It will be understood that at a party conference questions of the day, and measures for dealing with them, are discussed. It may be argued that one cannot always and exclusively concentrate on the all-important supreme aim. But in dealing with pressing temporary problems, as well as with proposals and plans in cases of emergencies, the genuine great Socialist principle must ever be all-present and all-transcending. It must never be lost sight of. This, however, was sadly missing in the speeches and discussions at the said party conference. Rather had one the impression that any allusion to the real aim being the abolition of the exploitation of man by man through the wages and money system, was designedly shunned in order not to give offence in any quarter. This, however, means nothing less than abandoning the supreme principle, which cannot but please its adversaries.

All demands and decisions made at the S.P.A.'s conference will only serve to consolidate the present constitution of society and, if possible, perpetuate it. The "Socialist Party of Austria" is therefore not entitled to call itself Socialist, if the word is to keep its true meaning.

DR. JOHANNES KLEINHAPPL.

Edinburgh

Working Class Housing

HOW MANY BOXES of shortbread have caught the customer's eye with a gaudy picture of Edinburgh Castle? And very nice, too; they would not sell much shortbread by showing Edinburgh's slums, although there are enough of them.

Yes, Edinburgh has a slum problem, just like any other great city. *Panorama* went there a few months back, showing up the damp and rotting houses around Arthur Street, where the workers pay

rent to live with the rats and broken sewer pipes.

And like a lot of other places, Edinburgh also has dwellings which are not classified as slums, but which are not much better; it has its prefabs. These, as the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* said recently, are "... relics of the immediate post-war housing crisis ..." which are "... still with us, although when they were built they were intended to be only temporary makeshifts."

Are the prefabs likely to come down soon? The Edinburgh City Council Housing Committee has said that, because the process of removing them is long, and because alternative housing has to be promised for the tenants before the sites can be cleared and new dwellings erected, the prefabs will be with us for some time yet.

Let nobody be deceived that as the slums come down new housing is bound to take their place. Sometimes the land on which they were built has what is called a high site value. In narrow Kirkgate and the surrounding streets a lot of tenements, some of which have been standing for a century or more, have been demolished. No new houses have gone up on the site; instead, a whiskey bond store is being built there and Woolworths are putting up another of their red and gold shops.

What is to the point in all this is that the working class, although they build the beautiful mansions and palaces, can only afford to live in the slum, or the prefab, or the council house, or the little semi-detached. And why is this? Simply because the workers have only one method of getting their living by selling their energies and skills to the capitalist class. These workers own little more than their ability to work. The great cities of Scotland are not theirs, nor are the Lochs and Highlands which they sing about. Sad Irish lads may dream of the Lakes of Killarney, but they are owned by an American capitalist, just as the song said they never could be. Proud Cockneys own nothing of London Town. The working class of the world, in fact, own no country, no city, no land—most of them do not even own the place where they live.

No use to approach that problem with just another slum clearance scheme. It needs a world in which society's first concern is for the security and happiness of the human race.

The prefabs were supposed to be temporary, but they have been temporary too long. In a way, that applies to capitalism as well.

DAVID LAMOND.

BOOKS

YHWH*

The Religion of Israel, by Yehezkel Kaufman (translated by Moshe Greenberg. *Allen & Unwin*, 42s.

THIS IS AN EXCELLENT BOOK: not only the translation—which alone can make or mar any work, but also the abridgement of seven volumes.† Despite this and the obvious drawbacks Dr. Greenberg has given us an eminently readable book. A must for biblical scholars and a mine of information for Socialists. Professor Kaufman took the best part of thirty years to produce these seven volumes and in so doing has amassed a wealth of facts regarding the origins and the nature of Israelite religion—Judaism. Many of these facts are incorporated in this abridgement, which makes fascinating reading and one wonders at what was left out. This is the first time that any part of Professor Kaufman's major work on Judaism has been published in any other language but Hebrew.

For those concerned with Judaism as the first monotheistic religion from which sprang Christianity and Islam and the connecting links between Paganism, Pantheism, Polytheism, and Primitive Magic, there is a good argument in this book and much to cogitate over.

Socialists will value this book in much the same way as they do Fraser's *Golden Bough*, and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, as an explanation of mankind's activities and of his earlier inability to understand natural phenomena, such as the rising and setting of the Sun, the waxing and waning of the Moon, storms, floods, and so on. Primitive Magic was early man's way of endeavouring to deal with the things he did not understand, and as he became more sophisticated his superstitions hardened into religion. Pantheistic and polytheistic to start with and then Monotheistic, today we have variants all along the line, enough of them in fact to make the soup firms' varieties look sick. In the bargain, organised religion in the early days of propertied society—somewhere in the Middle East—gave rise to science, which is today busy burying religion beneath a mountain of facts.

* GOD.

† An eighth volume has been written, but is not dealt with in this book.

All of this has been brought about by man endeavouring to come to grips with the problems that confronted him. *Homo Sapiens* has solved most of his problems, and we are confident that he will continue to do so. This volume is good ammunition for debunking the God idea. Not that Professor Kaufman wrote his volumes with that intention—he is a devout Jew—but then neither did Darwin!

JON KEYS.

Latin America

Latin America—The Balance of Race Redressed, by Halcro Ferguson for the Institute of Race Relations. *Oxford University Press*, 7s. 6d.

WITH THE EXCEPTION of *The Times* and *The Economist* the only British newspaper that regularly covers Latin American affairs is *The Observer*, which has in Halcro Ferguson a highly informed student of what is going on "south of the border." His first book is therefore a welcome addition to the limited literature available on the racial aspect of that part of the world.

It is regrettable that the author makes no attempt to define his meaning of the term race. It is far too "loaded" a word to leave to the reader's personal interpretation. Fortunately, there is nothing in present day Latin America to compare with the specific discrimination on grounds of colour to be found in the Southern States of America or the Republic of South Africa. It would be a mistake, however, to think this is due to some kind of moral superiority. Discrimination and indignity have many forms. From Mexico down to Paraguay the Spanish speaking descendants of the conquistadors have exerted a repressive social, religious and linguistic domination over their Indian subjects whose pre-Colombian culture was by no means inferior to that of their conquerors.

Mr. Ferguson likens the break-away of the Spanish colonies under the leadership of Bolívar and San Martín to the current White-Settler and "Colon" quarrels with the home country, although as he himself shows the social gap between the elite and the masses was not a principle of racial superiority. What it does mean is that as

the countries of Central and South America undergo their national bourgeois revolutions we are likely to witness the rise of the Indian majority as a key political factor with the subsidiary demand for literacy and equal rights of language. A situation not unlike India once the English no longer held sway.

We must register a point of disagreement. Despite the fact that numerically the peasants were preponderant in both Mexico of 1910 and Russia of 1917 it is an error to equate the respective struggles of that period. In the words of Rudolf Sprenger, "The Russian Revolution was a bourgeois revolution without the bourgeoisie. Leadership: the intellectuals. Weapon of attack: the proletariat. Mass-basis: the peasantry." In Mexico's case it was not a question of a fundamental change in the social basis of society, which is what we understand by the word revolution. Rather was it one of the last of the great peasant revolts so tragically doomed to failure by the inexorable laws of social development.

E. S. G.

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

To the Editor



Trade Unions and Socialism

What is the true position of the SPGB in regard to trade unions as they are presently constituted in this country? Do you believe in the closed shop, and that members of your party should belong to a trade union and support it even though it may be anti-socialistic in character? Your writers often claim in the *Socialist Standard* that trade unions tend to help capitalism to run more smoothly, if this were so why not state in your journal that trade unionism is anti-socialistic and that no real socialist should belong to any trade union at all? This would be the only logical position that your party could take, but as it is now you seem to be running with the hares and hunting with the hounds. Trade Unions may be necessary under a certain phase of capitalism just as the National Assistance Board is at present, but nevertheless it does not necessarily follow that socialists should support them.

Dundee.

R. SMITH.

REPLY.

Capitalism is a social system in which most people have to go to work for wages in order to live. This means that they are forced to sell their mental and physical energies to an employer. The interests of the seller of any article are in getting the highest possible price for what he is selling. Thus the workers are forced to struggle for the best conditions for the sale of their labour power. This means that they must struggle for shorter hours, less intense working pace, higher wages and so on.

It is obvious that the workers will be able to assert their interests more strongly if they do so together: this is the basic reason for the existence of trade unions. They are the only weapon which workers can use under capitalism to defend and to improve their working conditions. Because of this, all workers should join their trade union. Any trade union action which is in line with working class interests is worthy of wholehearted support from all workers—and receives the support of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

It is true, however, that trade unions do many things which are quite opposed to working class interests; some of them, as our correspondent points out, tend to help capitalism run more smoothly. Such actions are contrary to trade unionism and the Socialist Party opposes them. Thus we opposed trade union participation in the

war effort and later their support of government productivity drives.

The closed shop is an arrangement which is operated sometimes with the aid and approval of the employers and sometimes by the workers themselves. While we hold that, on balance, compulsory trade union membership is not in the best interests of the Trade Union movement and the working class, we also recognise that trade union action, and strikes in particular, cannot operate without trying to compel would-be blacklegs to conform to the decision of the majority.

It is hardly surprising that trade unions have their faults. They are, after all, a feature of capitalist society—and they must recruit workers of all sorts of political and religious opinions, who are united only in the struggle against their masters. When Socialism is established, trade unions will exist no more—the need for them will have disappeared. Until that day, life under capitalism is a battle, and the workers must fight it with the best weapon available.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Russia again

MR. S. P. CHAMBERS, Chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries, on a recent visit to Russia on behalf of his Company, reported on some very interesting observations he had made. He stated:

"I had a measure of success and with one exception, all my questions were answered fully and frankly. The one exception was in the sphere of actual living conditions."

It appears Mr. Chambers wanted to see for himself how the people lived and asked for permission to visit their homes. This did not meet with the approval of the Soviet authorities. According to Mr. Chambers:

The vast blocks of flats erected in and around Moscow represent by European standards a low level for new accommodation.

In Industry, it seems to be the general rule for husband and wife to do a full day's work and the children are left at a nursery or creche, or in the care of some relation.

Mr. Chambers claimed that, although it is said hours of labour are reduced, if statistics were available they would show that many more hours are worked per thousand of the total population than in the United Kingdom or in Western Germany. Clothing and toilet articles, he said, are expensive, meat and poultry was of good quality and not unreasonable in price.

Like many other Directors of the I.C.I. who have previously visited the Soviet

Union, Mr. Chambers has clearly shown that this country organises its industrial affairs just like any other capitalist country and has the same anomalies to contend with.

The claim that Socialism exists in the Soviet Union is disproved by the evidence from Mr. Chamber's visit. Its workers, just like the working class elsewhere, have to sell their power to labour. There is commodity production, private property and the same sort of social problems.

A curious fact mentioned by Mr. Chambers was that, at the Coke Chemical Works, a wall 8½ feet high and 3,000 feet long was built to ensure privacy against a rival factory—Agostral. Whoever heard of commercial rivalry in a Socialist economy? There are different classes for passengers in their liners—one of them plying to London has even five classes and that in a so-called classless country!

Capitalism exists in the Soviet Union—and until such time that its Working Class understand and desire Socialism, poverty and insecurity will be the lot of the workers there.

DICK JACOBS.

Buddha's tooth

THE CHINESE are a people without what we would call a religion; in its place they have the philosophy of Confucianism. This regulates the behaviour between older and younger brother and other members of the family and subjugates them all to the head of the household. The system of responsibilities goes all the way through society to the head of the State, who is compared to the father of a family.

The Chinese Communist Party who now manage capitalism have substituted a somewhat similar authoritarian idealogy of their own, with Mao Tse-tung at the top of the social pyramid in the place formerly occupied by the Emperor.

This lack of religious belief, however, does not help them from pandering to even the most stupid of superstitious practices when it suits their interests. Witness the recent episode of Buddha's tooth.

For the first time in 2,500 years the right and the left tooth of the Lord Buddha have been brought together; at Kandy, the ancient capital of Ceylon, where hundreds of thousands of pilgrims saw the right tooth, in its 3 cwt. gilded casket studded with green and red gems, loaded on a specially built chariot for a

four-months' tour of the island's holy places. The relic itself has been provided by courtesy of Communist China. Its usual resting place is in a newly reconstructed 150 ft. high Pagoda in Pekin's western hills whence it was brought to Colombo aboard an Ilyushin jet. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, and members of her Cabinet took a prominent part in greeting it.

Ceylon has its own tooth—the left one enshrined at Kandy's Dalada Mahigawa temple. It is about half the size of the Chinese relic but equally venerated in the Buddhist world.

The Chinese Government can very well understand the excitement and keenness of the Ceylonese ruling-class at the possession of this relic, for it is a help in the very important task of doping their workers' minds. The Ceylonese ruling-class, no doubt, consider this acquisition very fortunate indeed. Buddha's tooth helps to whip up religious fervour, and this is channelled into support of the Buddhist church, which, in Ceylon, is a pillar of the State.

What an auspicious atmosphere for the Chinese to start their negotiations to barter rice for rubber and what an edge on their Russian rivals too! How the sophisticated rulers of China, who so make use of a religious relic (useless to them for hoodwinking their agnostic workers) must be laughing up their sleeves at the Ceylonese workers who fall for such hocus pocus!

F. OFFORD.

MRA's Absolutes

FILM: *The Crowning Experience*.
VERDICT: A "must" for all those wishing to know just how *not* to solve the problems of society.

Very good colour and camera work. Music and lyrics fair to middling. Acting and presentation good in some parts, but in others, oh so awkward and stultified as to draw embarrassed titters even from a sympathetic audience.

And the plot? Well, when we tell you that *The Crowning Experience* is a Moral Re-Armament Production, maybe you can guess the rest. A lavishly produced book of the film assures us that it was inspired by the real life story of Mary McLeod Bethune, a Southern Negress of very humble beginnings who, it is said, founded a University in Mayesville, South Carolina, and became a special adviser to Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt.

Broadway singer Muriel Smith portrays

the leading part of the good lady, here called Emma Tremaine. After starting the "Tremaine College," she has trouble with a young graduate, Charlie, who becomes a "Professional Revolutionary" in the pay of the Communist Party, trying to work an oversized chip off his shoulder, acquired during childhood when his mother died of starvation. This leads to a first class row with Emma when he tries to form a "Cell" in Emma's own college, and gets thrown off the campus for his trouble.

But everything comes right in the end, of course, because they all somehow find their way to an MRA conference on Mackinac Island and become "changed." Even the stubborn Charlie (who has really gone along there to get his wife back) melts before the powerful appeal of the four absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. In a matter of minutes he has switched his worship from the God in the Kremlin to the one at Mackinac. Finally, there is a truly tear-jerking session with politicians and leading figures from various parts of the world confessing their past dishonesties and swearing to uphold and apply the principles of MRA in the future.

The political simpleton will find much in this film to encourage him in his ignorance. Apart from the scientifically quite untenable "God" idea there is the fatuous and futile notion that the MRA "Absolutes" will give us the peaceful and happy world which we all so desperately want.

Of course, it is desirable to be honest, to harbour no hatred or ill-feeling, and to be free from fear. No doubt we have all felt the strain imposed by having to cheat and lie at some time or other, and no one but a madman really approves of it. Again, how nice it would be if the statesmen were to be absolutely honest with each other—a sort of "cards on the table" policy. Then why aren't they? What is it that makes them hold secrets, even from those whom they proclaim as allies? In fact, why do statesmen exist at all? Just whose interests do they represent?

It is only in posing and answering such questions as these that we can hope to achieve a satisfactory explanation of the bloodshed, suspicion and misery in which modern society abounds.

The Crowning Experience tells us merely that such problems exist. For the most part, it is a study in religious emotionalism, and relies on tautology and the usual sweeping claims in support of its "case."

E. T. C.



September 1911

THE LIMITATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL ACTION

In August 1911 there was a strike of railwaymen. The Liberal Government, with the support of the Tories called out the troops and there were many casualties when police were used to break up strikers meetings.

Among those hardest hit by the great events of August are the Industrial Unionists. They have witnessed a strike in the industry most able to paralyse society. That it could paralyse society has been amply demonstrated—but then, we have never denied that they could accomplish this. However, events have gone on to prove our claim that, considered as an instrument for 'taking and holding' the means of life Industrial Unionism, with its most perfect weapon, the General Strike, can accomplish nothing more than general paralysis.

The 'riotous mob' of August 1911 were an appalling power for destruction—everybody knew that. Had they been sufficiently desperate, had they felt sufficiently inclined to suicide, they would have been irresistible for ruin. They could have laid London in ashes in a night: they could have made the country an inferno of blood and fire; they could have performed prodigies of destruction in spite of police and military. But when it comes to taking and holding and operating one shillings-worth of the productive wealth of the capitalist class, they are powerless. They can destroy and die, but to hold and operate they must live—and in the difference between these two, Industrialism finds its grave.

The final lesson, and the greatest of all, is to be found in the crushed hopes of the Industrialists, the Syndicalists, the Anarchists. These claim that the means of production must be seized in the teeth of the armed forces; the Socialists hold that the preliminary must be to get control of the armed forces by capturing the machinery of government.

From the
SOCIALIST STANDARD, September 1911

Branch News



TWO ITEMS OF NEWS regarding the Party's activity during July must reassure members of the increasing results of the work done by Comrades in our effort to propagate Socialism.

On July 19th the second mid-week Demonstration for Socialism meetings was held at Conway Hall, London. To an audience of nearly 400, Comrades Grant and Hardy (Comrade Fahy in the Chair) held an inspiring meeting. The audience put some excellent questions and took part in discussion—all dealt with by the speakers in full. So much so that many people who were slightly interested in the Party's case, remarked that much had been learned by the discussion and they were anxious to hear and learn more. Good literature sales were made and a collection of £25 odd was taken up. The Propaganda Committee arranged this meeting and plans are being made for a further Demonstration for Socialism on October 18th, in the Caxton Hall, London.

The other item of moment was the result of the small band of literature sellers organised by the new Literature Sales Committee, who sold literature at Earls Court during the Russian Exhibition. Over 1,100 pamphlets were sold 700 odd were the pamphlet "Russia Since 1917" and the amount handed in to Head Office was nearly £65. This is a remarkable effort and demonstrates so well that if Comrades organise together on such projects, much can be done to get the Party's case over to the workers who must know and understand it in order to achieve the aim of every Socialist—Socialism.

The Autumn Delegate Meeting is being held at Head Office, on Saturday (afternoon 2.30 to 5.30) and Sunday (11.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) on October 7th and 8th. The Standing Orders Committee are making special efforts to re-arrange the seating arrangements and it is hoped that a good attendance will be there to hear about the successful half-year's work of Party Comrades in London and the Provinces. Scot-

land and Wales. It is hoped that a report will be available from America where Comrade Gilmac is attending as our representative to the Annual Conference of the W.S.P.

Wembley Branch members returned from holiday at the end of July and ready for the fray once more. Plans in hand at the time of going to Press, included a combined canvassing and propaganda trip to Southsea on August 27th and an indoor public meeting in the Autumn at Wembley. This will be the Branch's first attempt at indoor propaganda and careful arrangements will be necessary. All branch members will be informed and are urged to give their utmost support.

The Branch has held a series of very successful meetings at Gloucester Road with attentive audiences and literature sales showing a marked improvement on previous seasons. Is this part of a general awakening of interest in our case? We hope so and anyway Branch members will do their best to exploit it to the full. Canvassing efforts continue and the practice is to send a team to selected areas month by month, with one comrade following up the contacts made. Some good contacts have been made, but the Branch is restricted by manpower shortage. Absent Comrades please note.

The following is an extract from a letter received from Comrade Everson of New Zealand.

"In New Zealand at present there is much concern about the possibility of Great Britain joining the European Common Market. A very gloomy future is predicted by the politicians. Mr. Hoyloake and company have taken the opportunity to use it as an excuse to postpone their tax reducing election promise for 'at least another year!'

Many young married workers I contact are very worried about the future, not simply at being unemployed, but at losing overtime work. In spite of the child allowance of 15s. per week for each child, the lower paid workers, reduced to the much boasted 40 hour week, would suffer hardships, unemployment would be disastrous. What a system! After all the years of so-called prosperity, referred to by the Labour politicians as the 'Honeymoon', a short spell of unemploy-

ment would put most workers on the bread line".

Bright Note. It is noticeable, after some long while of static membership numbers, that applications for membership to the Party are becoming a much more frequent item of E.C. business.

P. H.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park 3 pm & 6 pm

East Street, Walworth

September 3rd & 17th (noon)

September 10th & 24th (11am)

Clapham Common 3 pm

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30—2 pm

Hyde Park 8 pm

Earls Court 8 pm

Gloucester Road 8 pm

Saturdays

Castle Street, Kingston 8 pm

Rushcroft Road 8 pm

BRISTOL

Durdham Downs,

Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m.

MITCHAM LECTURE

The White Hart, Cricket-Green

Thursday September 21st 8 pm

LEWISHAM LECTURE

Davenport Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, SE6.

Monday 18th September, 8 pm.

"CUBA TODAY"

Speaker: E. Grant.

PADDINGTON LECTURE

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.

Wednesday 27th September, 8 pm.

"FOOD & POPULATION"

Speaker: I. Jones.

Public Meeting

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM CAXTON HALL WESTMINSTER, SW1

Wednesday 18th October 7.30 pm

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Official Journal
of the Socialist Party
of Great Britain

OCTOBER 1961/6d

ORGANISED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

.....

Wednesday 18th October 7.30

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

Speakers: E. Hardy C. May

CAXTON HALL CAXTON STREET, VICTORIA STREET, SW1

Also in this issue

H. Bomb Testing
Back page

The Stagnant Society
page 156

The "Crisis"
page 150

The Case for Sanity

page 147

This Years T. U. C.

page 152

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BASILDON (see South East Essex).

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (5th & 19th Oct) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7, Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, Oct 6th, at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Oct 20th at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCELES 2nd Monday (9th Oct) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (2nd & 16th Oct) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

.....

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (11th & 25th October) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (9th & 23rd Oct) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SOUTHEND (see under South East Essex)

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd & 16th Oct) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 48 Balfour Road W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th & 26th Oct) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th Oct) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 19th Oct 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.



SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

October 1961 Vol 57 No 686

The Case for Sanity

CONTENTS

- 148 News in Review
 - Bomb Tests
 - British Guiana
 - Labour Conference
 - Fair Play for Teachers
- 149 Rockets Galore
- 150 The "Crisis"—from Cripps to Selwyn Lloyd
- 151 Those Bonus Shares
- 152 This Year's T.U.C.
- 154 The Passing Show
- 154 Florence Dale
- 155 Proposal to abolish Strikes
- 156 The Stagnant Society
- 157 Malthus on Poverty
- 158 Meetings and Branch News
- 160 H-Bomb Diplomacy

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

We live in an insane world, one that becomes more and more insane with every day that passes.

To pick up a newspaper is to find a daily catalogue of wars and threats of wars, hatreds and atrocities, murder and violence. Over all lies the shadow of nuclear destruction.

In Berlin, the two big power groups face up to each other like squabbling children, each trying to shout "Yah" louder than its rival, each daring the other to strike the first blow. In the Congo, still rent with violence, that monument of ineptitude, the United Nations, decides to intervene and chooses to do so in a sordid scramble of colonialism mixed with petty economic rivalry, the whole sorry business made worse by the usual intrigues of the big capitalist powers.

Russia, after a short period of quiet, proceeds to explode nuclear devices at a frenzied rate, sending clouds of poison into the atmosphere to threaten the health of all the earth's inhabitants, and of even the unborn. The United States hardly waits to do the same, its rulers weeping crocodile tears the while. Between times they have both been spending astronomical sums in perfecting the ways of delivering their bombs. Huge crowds have been cheering the astronauts of both sides for their heroism, apparently oblivious that behind it all lies the terrible threat that missiles can now be directed with pin-point accuracy to annihilate places thousands of miles away.

There is uneasy peace in Tunisia, but in Algeria the dreadful carnage goes on. Laos has dropped out of the news as quickly as it came into it, but could just as easily erupt again. In South America, Brazil looked as though it might develop into another Cuba, but has not done so, at least for the moment. In East Africa, the Rhodesias, and South Africa, things remain only outwardly quiet. The fact is that we are hardly surprised any more at anything anywhere. Such is the terrible pass to which capitalism has brought humanity.

And yet, against this background of tragedy and folly, which might be expected to reduce us only to abandonment and despair, we record with pride that, far from being discouraged, the Socialist Party has not for many years been so active in its propaganda, nor its members so enthusiastic.

We have just come to the end of an excellent outdoor season, opening up several new areas and developing old ones. Audiences have been good and generally interested and receptive. Literature sales have been high. Even more encouraging are the preparations for the winter season, the indoor programmes of branches being more ambitious than ever as the meetings advertised in this issue will show.

Most encouraging of all in these days of alleged political apathy, when even the big guns of capitalist politics find it hard to hold a good meeting, is the fact that we have run two really successful indoor rallies.

The third of these is being held this month and we are confident that it will prove more successful than those previously, a fitting conclusion to the fine summer season and an auspicious opening to an even finer winter one.

In an insane world, the issue is more than ever—Capitalism or Socialism. Let us hold fast to sanity and demonstrate for Socialism!

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Bomb Tests

HAVE WE GROWN ACCUSTOMED to him-bug? There was enough of it to be had, when Moscow announced the resumption of nuclear tests. The Russians said that it was all America's fault—they had to let off their bombs to show that they were ready to defend themselves against Western imperialism.

Washington and London professed shocked dismay, and anxiety for the future of the human race. To hear them, a simple soul could have been excused for assuming that neither Britain nor America had ever tested a bomb, and that the Americans were not all ready to go on their own tests as soon as they got the excuse.

In fact, there was a lot of military pressure in both Russia and the United States to resume the tests. It was certain that the first power to break the ban would come in for a propaganda lambasting. We could, therefore, expect the Americans to derive maximum political value from Khrushchev's bangs, and the Russians to do their best to play the thing down. For that is typical of the cynicism with which capitalism's propagandists regard such matters of life and death.

At the end of it all, when the bombs have exploded and the propaganda points made, we are back where we started. Only perhaps a little more radioactive than before.

British Guiana

IT IS NOT YET ten years ago that Dr. Cheddi Jagan came out on top in the elections in British Guiana, to set the old

ladies in the Colonial Office looking under their desks for Red bogymen.

Now restored to respectability and back in power with an absolute majority, Dr. Jagan is doing his best to show that they had nothing to fear. One of his big worries is to attract capital to British Guiana. His government will accept this from anywhere—Britain, the United States, Russia; even Cuba is lined up as a potential source of investment.

But Dr. Jagan knows that some capital would be scared off if he went ahead with what he once professed as his principles of wholesale nationalisation. So he is soft-pedalling on the issue although, like most newly independent states, British Guiana has its eyes upon the foreign interests in her mineral wealth.

This sets the Doctor a pretty dilemma. A false step one way and he could become a second Castro. A false step the other and he will be dubbed a lackey of Western imperialism. When the moment of decision comes for British Guiana, we may depend that there will be no lack of wordy journalists to spill their particular brand of beans.

But there will be a shortage of people to point out that all the time the Guianese workers are cutting the sugar and mining the bauxite and the rest and still, as ever, getting precious little out of it.

Labour Conference

THIS MONTH, barring landslide, earthquake and the end of the world, Mr. Gaitskell will climb into the ring at Blackpool to disprove the already disproven theory that they never come back.

Last year, it was the pre-conference decisions from the unions which foretold that the Labour Party would go unilateralist. Now, enough unions have changed their minds to make it seem certain that Mr. Cousins will be left alone to uphold the cause of C.N.D. and that Mr. Gaitskell will be champion once more.

Underlying the Labour Party debate on unilateralism is one of the facts of capitalist life, which will persist however much the bomb-banners try to ignore it. In past debates on the issue, the platform has made it quite plain that, whatever decision the delegates might take, a future Labour government would be

guided in its actions by the necessities of British capitalism.

This means that the Conference might decide against the bomb—but a Labour government would keep it, perhaps use it. This was the theme of one of Bevan's last important speeches, to the Conference in 1958. And quite logical too. There has never been a government which acted otherwise, and never will be as long as the working class support capitalism.

So the unilateralists are wasting their time on the Labour Party. Come to think of it they are wasting their time anyway, trying to settle one of capitalism's grisly problems without trying to get rid of the system itself.

Fair Play for Teachers

HOW MANY SCHOOLTEACHERS have spent how much time telling how many classes that an Englishman's word is his bond, and that the road to happiness is paved with honesty and truthfulness?

Anybody who took this seriously must have been shocked by the recent government decisions to ignore the recommendations of the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal, to restrict the statutory Wages Councils and virtually to destroy the Burnham Committee. And all this from an upstanding Englishman like Mr. Selwyn Lloyd!

In fact, the teachers are wasting their time if they are pining for fair play, for there is no such thing in the class war. The Ministry of Education, for example, took over the Burnham Committee's functions because the government decided that the committee was being too generous to the teachers.

This makes no sense if we are looking for fair play. But in terms of the conflict of interest between any employer and his employees, it makes very good sense indeed. Teachers as a whole, like many civil servants and other white collar workers have always denied the existence of the class struggle. But it exists for them just as much as for the miner and the docker.

That is one of the things Mr. Selwyn Lloyd seems to be doing his best to teach them. Let us hope they turn out to be bright, receptive pupils.

The Race for Space

Rockets Galore

IT WAS AT 9 A.M. on August 6th, that the Russians fired Major Titov into orbit. The spaceman himself seems to have enjoyed the trip in Vostock II. He even managed to eat three meals and sleep for eight of the 24 hours he was out in space.

Who can deny that the whole thing was an impressive achievement? Indeed, it stands out as yet another example of man's technical ability and his power to acquire knowledge and apply it to solve the problems he faces. In the space race these must be formidable, yet such has been the fantastic advance in the last few years that Professor Sir Bernard Lovell of Jodrell Bank hardly turned a hair when told of the latest Russian achievement. "I am not a bit surprised," he said. According to a spokesman at his observatory, the Professor holds the view that a manned flight to the moon is only about five years off and nobody laughs at him for thinking it. Yet it was not so long ago that the British Interplanetary Society talked with daring optimism of perhaps a 50 year wait.

But it is against a background of events here on earth that we must view the Soviet feat. While the Bank holiday crowds in Britain digested the news, and messages of congratulations were heaped on the beaming young astronaut, the Western diplomats and politicians were doubtless reflecting gloomily on this latest indication of Russian rocket mastery. It was just one more worry to add to their already splitting headache over Berlin.

Some British scientists have expressed the opinion that Vostock II was one of a series of "in between" flights to bridge the gap between Major Gagarin's single orbit and a manned lunar flight. It should not be regarded, they say, as just a prestige trip. Be that as it may, it has certainly been exploited to the full by Mr. Khrushchev and the propaganda organs of the Soviet ruling class, as a boost to Russian confidence. There is little doubt also that American prestige suffered a corresponding blow, although it remains to be seen to what extent, particularly among the newly rising capitalist states.

The *Guardian* of August 8th offers a crumb of comfort to the American rulers and tells them not to be downhearted.

They have some new and powerful rockets coming into service in the next

year or two; they may soon be the pace-makers again. If Vostock II was a military weapon, a twelve months start might be technically decisive. In the history of scientific exploration twelve months is the blinking of an eye.

The last sentence is true enough, but how foolish it is to ignore the war-like potentialities of scientific study in a capitalist world. This neat little piece of "compartmentising" just does not face up to the unpleasant reality that there really is no such thing as research for "peaceful purposes" in private property society.

While Vostock II itself was not a war weapon, it does nevertheless point to the undoubted technical lead currently held by the Soviets, and the military significance of this will not be overlooked by the U.S. and her N.A.T.O. allies. We can all remember the fear expressed in some sections of the British press, when the Russians successfully fired their "Moon Probe" rocket, that it would be possible to set up a military base on the moon, from which a power would be able to bombard its earthly enemies in a future war.

Now, with Major Titov's flight, similar fears have been given voice in the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Richard Russell, has warned that "... a satellite of this size could be utilized as a very dangerous weapon." On the same day, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson confessed his admiration for the Soviet feat but "prayed that the arms race will not spread to outer space."

But even ignoring this possibility, the sheer power of the present rockets and their accuracy as inter-continental missiles, give us all a glimpse of the terrifying prospect which we face if the cold war gets hotted up at any time. Mr. Khrushchev has told us of Russian military might. When talking on August 7th about the Berlin crisis, he said:

"We are developing various rocket weapons, inter-continental ballistic rockets, of various range, strategic and tactical purpose, with atomic and hydrogen warheads. We also pay the necessary attention to other forms of military hardware."

It was shortly after this that we heard of the Soviet 100-megaton bomb and his claim that there was a rocket to deliver it.

More specific was the Soviet Government's announcement of August 30th that they would resume nuclear testing and that "Titov-type" rockets could be used to carry their new superpowerful bombs to any part of the globe. An acceleration of the arms race can now be confidently expected and the space race is part of it.

And what of America? Although, at present, she lags behind Russia in rocket development, she will make frantic efforts to catch up and snatch the lead. Already, anyway, there are three very advanced American rockets available—Polaris, Skybolt, and Minuteman—all highly mobile, but having warheads of no more than about 1 megaton yield. Now that Russia has broken the three year old moratorium on tests, the U.S. Government has the ideal political excuse to try out a greater range of bombs and develop the rockets to carry them. It is admitted in the *Guardian* of September 1st that pressure of opinion in favour of this has been building up in American military circles for some time, and designs already exist to increase the yield of Polaris and Skybolt to 2 megatons each.

So it is clear that the usual dirty and cynical game has been played by both sides over the past two or three years, and that all their talk of banning nuclear arms has been so much hypocritical eyewash. We shall not here take part in the futile debate on the relative advantages of the Russian and American types of rocket. Is it more desirable to have one that is massively powerful and can deliver 100 megatons, or one that is far less powerful and destructive, but has greater mobility? We neither know nor care. As far as we are concerned both types are highly undesirable.

Despite all these melancholy developments, do not let us lose sight of the tremendous possibilities of rocket propulsion. It is here to stay, and in the years since the end of the second World War, we have seen great strides in its development. There seems little doubt that fairly soon, it will be used in the exciting adventure of landing men on the moon and maybe even on the planets further afield. It could have great potentialities as a means of enhancing our knowledge of the universe. One thing is certain, it will unfortunately suffer perversion and defilement like so many other things in a capitalist world. But do not blame the rocket for this. Get rid of Capitalism.

L. L. C.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

DELEGATE MEETING

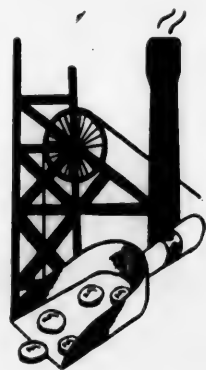
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

October 7th & 8th

Saturday 2 - 6pm
Sunday 11am - 1pm, 2-6pm

FINANCE

INDUSTRY



The "Crisis"—from Cripps to Selwyn Lloyd

THE WORKERS, whose wages and jobs are involved, view the latest "crisis" as a serious matter, as also do the employers who are fearful about their falling profits, but in every other respect it has the appearance of a farce, represented almost every other year since the end of the war. The Opposition, forgetting that crises also happened when they were the government, say that the thing itself and Selwyn Lloyd's methods of handling it are evidence of Tory ineptitude and viciousness. The Tories, embarrassed by their promises that it would not happen again when the people were "set free" from Labour government planning and controls, now find themselves committed to the idea of planning, though this time it is to be by a national economic council, representing government employers and trade unions instead of planning from Whitehall. Except for variations of detail and emphasis there isn't a single original idea in the new Tory policy and no indication that they are any better at smoothing out capitalism than were the Labour government. Most of Selwyn Lloyd's speeches and actions might have come straight from the late Sir Stafford Cripps.

The elements of the problem are fairly simple. The manufacturer, if he is to sell his goods, has to offer them at competitive prices, "as high as the market will bear," but not so high as to leave the market to cheaper competitors. But he also has to worry about his wage costs. If wages increase too much his profit suffers so he needs something to act as a brake on wage-claims and at present the unemployment brake is missing. As the purpose of capitalism is making profit, what are the employers and the government to do in a situation like this? Fight the unions over all wage claims? But that means bringing factories and transport to a temporary standstill, at enormous cost in the shape of lost production and profits, and with the risk that the government would lose the next election. Two policies that had looked promising

for a time were Cripps' appeal to the workers not to claim higher wages, and the policy of raising the price level by currency inflation. If manufacturers know they can count on steadily rising prices for what they sell they do not have to be adamant about wage increases induced by the rising cost of living. But while this is workable inside the country it cannot help the exporter, selling abroad: he cannot put up his prices. Cripps was eventually persuaded to devalue the pound in order to make it cheaper for the foreigner to "buy British"; but in the nature of things this is a remedy that cannot be safely repeated every few years.

The other part of the Cripps plan that has been copied by all his successors is to ask for more output per worker. The idea behind this is that provided all the additional output is sold, it would permit wages to rise without cutting into profit.

Where Cripps Left Off

The present government has carried on from the wage restraint policy of the late Sir Stafford Cripps when he was Chancellor in the post-war Labour government. It was his *White Paper on Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices*, 1948, which laid down the policy that "there should be no further general increase in the level of personal incomes without at least a corresponding increase in the volume of production." There should be no increase of income from profits and rent, and rises of wages should only be asked for either when productivity was increased or to attract workers to industries short of labour. In particular he objected to workers in one industry demanding increases to keep up with workers in another industry, and in 1949 when the devaluation of the pound again put up the cost of living he condemned wage increases aimed at keeping up with the rise of prices.

Cripps was helped to some extent by

the fact that the T.U.C. endorsed his wage restraint policy and the result was that wage rates were falling behind the increased cost of living from 1947 to 1951. The present government has no hope of getting T.U.C. support for a wage freeze, but it calculated that the T.U.C. would be unable to resist the bait of "planning," because that has long been one of their demands.

In one respect—the pay of teachers and civil servants—Selwyn Lloyd has been more drastic than was Cripps. When the latter was in control all wage-fixing bodies, including the civil service arbitration tribunal, were urged to take note of government policy on wage-restraint: this time the government has imposed its own, over-riding, "pause" on civil service pay and has cut by several million pounds the recommendations on teachers' pay. (The police have been luckier, their big pay increase was already in operation).

This isn't the first time a government has exercised its power to withhold agreement and thus delay wage increases proposed by wages councils. It was done in 1957 in respect of National Health Service workers, and back in 1948/9 the same delaying tactics were used by the Minister of Labour in the Labour Government. It took nearly a year for the retail food council and the hairdressing council to reach agreement in 1948 on proposed pay increases but the Minister, Mr. Isaacs, referred back certain of the proposals. The councils sent them back to him again almost unaltered and the Minister rejected them again in August, 1949. The T.U.C. reported (1950 Report, p. 167) that after a meeting with the Minister the difficulties were removed, and the increases were put into operation in October, 1949, after nearly a year's hold-up. According to Press reports at the time, the Shop Assistants Union had threatened to embarrass the Labour Government by putting down an emergency resolution for the Trades Union Congress.

The tough talk from the government about the "pause" on wage increases aroused similar tough talk from trade union officials declaring that they would have none of it; that they were not going to be dictated to and that "legitimate" wage claims would go on as usual. The unions are quite right to continue the wage struggle but they are only deceiving themselves if they think that there would be no restriction on wage increases if Selwyn Lloyd had not put it there. Wages are always restricted; basically by the fact that they represent the value of the mental and physical energies the worker sells, and at any given moment by the demand, and the amount of unemployment. The employers have to aim at keeping wages down to a level which leaves a surplus for profit. This is capitalism, and it is idle to pretend that it can be made to operate as if its purpose was to provide constantly rising real wages without regard to profit. In practice, trade unions are forced to recognise this fact, hence their almost invariable practice of having to settle at some figure far less than they claim; railway unions in 1958 claiming 10 per cent, and accepting 3 per cent., and the same unions under the Labour Government claiming 12s. 6d. in 1948 and eventually being put off with a few shillings for the lowest paid only. And anyone who thinks that a future Labour Government would or could run capitalism differently when they get another chance should take note of the declaration by Mr. Harold Wilson that "for a future Labour Government, no less than for the Conservatives success or failure in the battle against inflation would depend on the ability to secure an understanding with the unions which would make wage restraint possible" (*"Remedies for Inflation,"* by Harold Wilson, M.P., with a foreword by Hugh Gaitskell, 1957).

And what if the Unions do not agree? The present government obviously hopes that the imposed standstill on government employees will stiffen the resistance of employers in private industry. They doubtless share the envious eye the economist, Mr. Paul Bareau, casts on de Gaulle's "strong man" government which was able to secure that "to a

modest degree . . . real wages in France were for a time reduced" (*Sunday Telegraph*, 3 Sept, 1961). And how much better still it might be for the capitalists if instead of trade unions there could be, as there are in Russia, Yugoslavia and elsewhere, government controlled so-called unions that are in fact little more than agencies for imposing discipline and stimulating production.

The Prospect

While the unions are anxiously watching what the government does, other indicators may turn out to be more important. Some of the economists think that if unemployment rose to about 2 per cent. —2½ per cent., the unions' ability to press for higher wages would be curbed. It is at present about 1½ per cent. or 300,000, but has been rising. Mr. Samuel Brittain, economic editor of *The Observer*, has this to say:—

The Government's hand will be enormously strengthened in the coming months by a marked change of trend in the labour market, which actually began as early as June. Disregarding merely seasonal changes, unemployment has since been creeping up and unfilled vacancies have been declining. There will not of course be large-scale unemployment, or anything remotely resembling it, but labour should become a good deal easier to obtain in the coming months.

If the present crisis follows the pattern of the others since the war the pressure will last for a few months. Profits which have recently been falling will start to go up again because wage increases will be harder to get. The Chancellor will then announce that we have "turned the corner" and the workers will be invited to rejoice. And so it will go on until the next time.

One final comment on the farcical aspects of the crisis. The unions of government workers and workers in nationalised industries are incensed because, they say, they are singled out for worse treatment than that given to workers in private industry; these are the unions that go on record in favour of nationalisation!

H.



THOSE BONUS SHARES

Although bonus shares "does not add to the market value of a company's shares", it could put increased dividends in the pockets of shareholders. Assuming that the following financial year the particular company made increased profits, the shareholders could receive £200,000 dividends in the form of 20 per cent on 1 million £1 shares, or 10 per cent on 2 million £1 shares.

It could happen (and no doubt does) that after a number of years shareholders could have returned to them in dividends the whole of their original invested capital, and yet at the same time still possess increased number of shares above their original number which have been handed out in bonus shares from time to time.

Welwyn Gdn. City, Herts.

T. W. C.

REPLY

The article (August *Socialist Standard*) set out to show how erroneous is the belief that doubling or trebling a company's shares, by an issue of bonus shares, doubles or trebles the market price of each shareholder's holding. All that each shareholder gets from the change is double or treble the number of shares but with the market price of each share reduced to approximately a half or a third of what it was before, leaving the market price of the whole of the company's shares unchanged. In his letter our correspondent concedes that this is correct.

He goes on, however, to claim that a bonus issue "could put increased dividends in the hands of the shareholders", and he asks us to consider the position of the company referred to in the article if its profits increased so that it paid out a total dividend of £200,000 compared with the £100,000 of

continued page 157

DEBATE

Sunday 29th October 7pm

SHOULD SOCIALISTS SUPPORT CND

DENISON HOUSE, 296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, VICTORIA, S.W.1

YES

Richard Headcar (CND)

NO

Melvin Harris (SPGB)

THIS YEAR'S T.U.C.

COMMON CRITICISMS of the T.U.C. are that it spends time on political and foreign policy questions that ought not to concern trade unions; that the block vote can result in decisions being taken that represent little more than the balance of opinion on the executive committees of a few large Unions; and that the General Council can secure the acceptance of policies that do not harmonise with the view of rank and file trade unionists.

The *Guardian* took up the first criticism after the 1960 Congress, which it said, spent its time mainly on issues "almost irrelevant to all the real problems of the Unions," and which would not even discuss a resolution put down by a small

Union urging more time for industrial affairs. Some civil service representatives share that view, and it has been argued that Unions of "white collar workers" in particular are reluctant to join the T.U.C. because their members are not predominantly supporters of the Labour Party. It may well be that it is largely this factor that keeps outside two large Unions, the National Union of Teachers and the Local Government Workers Union (NALGO), as well as some others of the four hundred and seventy Unions that are not affiliated, though for the smaller Unions finance is probably a considerable factor. As half of the 184 Unions affiliated to the T.U.C. are not affiliated to the Labour Party, it might be thought that a majority of T.U.C. delegates might be prepared to consider altering Congress procedure to make it less like a second Labour Party conference, but Congress votes are dominated by the big Unions and nearly all of these are affiliated to the Labour Party and are apparently opposed to any change of procedure.

The second criticism, concerning the block vote, was heard often in the years when most of the ten largest Unions habitually voted the same way and between them could outvote the remaining 174 Unions. It has been heard less in recent years because the big Unions have been divided, with the largest Union of all, the Transport and General Workers, voting against the General Council's recommendations on such issues as armaments. No doubt if votes at Congress were cast by each Union in proportion to majority and minority opinion on Union executives and among their members some decisions would go the other way, though in the main it would show itself only in the form of closer votes and smaller majorities.

The third criticism, that the General Council can disregard the views of rank and file trade unionists, is by far the most fundamental. What does it amount to? Obviously the General Council cannot singly do what it likes. It has to get the endorsement of delegates and at times is defeated, as happened this year on the presence of German troops in Wales and last year on nuclear weapons (a decision which Congress this year reversed). Perhaps the explanation of the advantage possessed by the General Council is that they confront Congress with a formulated policy which they recommend for acceptance, whereas the delegates, like the

members who send them there, either have no policy and are willing to follow the lead from the platform or are divided over the several different and contradictory alternative policies: which raises the question what ought to be the broad aim of the trade unions.

Looking at the trade unions in the world today it is astounding to recall that in their infancy they were regarded by the employers and governments with real fear, as revolutionary organizations that threatened property and the social system itself. Now the danger has been largely contained, partly by concessions and legislation, but also through the aims that the Unions set themselves. Instead of thinking of themselves as part of the world working class struggling against the employers and the capitalist system, the aim of the trade union leaders in each country is to be consulted by the employers in the running of the industry, and by the government in the determination of national economic policy. While the rank and file trade unionists cannot be said to be positively opposed to this policy of their leaders they are much more concerned with fighting their own employers over wages and conditions, hence the periodical clashes between what the members feel and what their leaders, including the T.U.C., think ought to be done.

There is, of course, a sort of fatal logic about the direction in which the Unions are going. If it is once accepted that world-wide working class action for Socialism is impossible then it can seem to be "realistic" for the Unions to try to help British capitalism against its foreign competitors, by trying to gain markets for exports, by keeping down costs and avoiding strikes, by giving support to armaments, and in the last resort, to wars. All through Congress debates this readiness to think in terms of "British" interests instead of world working class interests comes out, as it did for example in the decision about wage restraint.

Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

Write to SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, for free leaflets to distribute in your T.U. Branch

SOCIALIST STANDARD

1961

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me

Socialist Standard
for the next Issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

Rank and file trade unionists and many of their delegates may think that Congress unconditionally repudiated the idea of a "wage pause" or a restraint on wage claims, and will have paid little heed to the fact that the spokesmen for the General Council put the matter differently. What they did was to offer—on terms—to collaborate with the government in the planning of economic policy; and planning, whether its supporters all realise it or not, necessarily includes the planning of wages and wage increases.

The T.U.C. never has unconditionally excluded wage restraint. In the years 1948 to 1950, in response to the appeal of the Labour government, the majority of the delegates accepted it. Even in 1950, when it was turned down on an E.T.U. resolution, the door was still left open. The E.T.U. resolution rejected wage restraint but only until such time as profits were "reasonably limited," prices controlled and "a positive planning of our British economy" is introduced. This idea has continued as the speeches at this year's Congress show.

Mr. H. Douglas, speaking for the General Council, said:—

If the Chancellor was worried why had

he not called in the General Council before and put his facts on the table? It had never failed to respond to an appeal for action. Why had not the Chancellor consulted them instead of slapping them in the face? (D. Telegraph 7.9.61).

The new General Secretary, Mr. Woodcock, spoke similarly:—

We say it is not right for a government of this country to make a decision on a wages pause without any consultation with the trade union movement. That is exactly what the Chancellor did.

The speakers went on to say that they are still willing, on terms, to have a hand, with the employers and the government in working out economic plans. A *Daily Herald* editorial (9/9/61) puts its finger on the double-edged nature of planning. Though chiding critics of the T.U.C. "who believe that the function of trade union leaders is to help the government to hold down wages," the article went on to admit that planning is "a practical exercise in which all sides have to make painful concessions in the long-term interest."

And Mr. Charles Timaeus, writing in *Reynolds News* (10/9/61) interpreted the speeches referred to above as implying

"that a wages pause might be acceptable in certain circumstances and in certain conditions."

Whether the government will make concessions in order to secure trade union collaboration remains to be seen, but one thing is made very clear by the anxious comments in various Liberal, Tory and financial journals, that is that they attach a great deal of importance to avoiding a head-on clash with the trade unions in the coming months. They know the losses the employers can suffer in widespread strikes and are not at all happy that the present government should have behaved as if it wanted a show-down at all costs.

It only remains to emphasise again the truism that the trade unions will not usefully change their direction until the members themselves think out their class position in capitalism and see that what is needed is world-wide working class action to establish Socialism. The alternative, collaboration in each country with the government, may end by bringing the unions nearer to being what the so-called trade unions are in Russia, part of the governmental machine of capitalism.

H.

H-BOMB DIPLOMACY continued from back page

explain the brusque manner in which the Kremlin announced the resumption of tests.

So it might have been a clever waiting game, with each side needing to test but reluctant to make the first move for fear of the political repercussions in countries like India and on the African continent. There is no reason to blame the U.S.S.R. for losing the game, nor to suppose that the Americans held out for humanitarian reasons. For when it came to it, they were just about as ready to let off their bombs again as were the Russians. We know that all capitalist countries like to describe their policies as being inspired by zeal for human benefits. But that simply does not even start to wash as far as nuclear weapons go. There is one certain way in which Russia, America and the rest could serve human interests, and solve the problem of nuclear warfare at the same time. They could destroy all their weapons and refuse to make any more.

That sounds like a pipe dream. In fact, it is a pipe dream. Capitalist nations build up their armories because they must always strive for military supremacy, to defend the economic and commercial interests of their ruling class. Britain wants a base in Cyprus so that

she can keep troops and weapons there, handy to move into Kuwait or any other trouble spot in the oil rich, economically vital Middle East. The United States wants its missile bases on the Continent, its Polaris ships in Holy Loch, because they cannot allow Russian capitalism to expand freely into Europe. Now these competing economic interests are an essential part of capitalism; if Russia and America were to settle their differences tomorrow, the day after we would have some other powers at loggerheads. Once you have such competition, you have armed forces. Once you have armed forces you have weapons, with each force trying for the weapon which will make it the most powerful of the lot. That sounds too simple for words, but it is in fact the reason behind the horror story of the development of weapons. That is the story to tell the unilateral nuclear disarmers, because it is the hundred per cent. reason for not being one of them.

Perhaps without realising it, Khrushchev and Kennedy have punched a big hole in the case of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Let us suppose that the C.N.D. had its way, and that the governments of the world agreed to renounce the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons. All the diplomats

would gather at Geneva, or some other equally pleasant place, to sign the instrument of renunciation. There would be moving speeches about a new era of human welfare, a better chance for children yet unborn: we all know what to expect on such occasions.

But the sombre fact is that, after the fine words have evaporated, treaties and agreements are worthless to the governments of capitalism. Germany's signature to the 1919 treaty which disarmed her was worthless. The powers which signed the Locarno Treaty of friendship in 1924 were very soon at war with each other. The post war problem of Berlin is chock full of agreements which have been broken or ignored. And in the same way, now that it suits their purpose to do so, the nuclear powers have ignored their 1958 agreement to ban tests. There is no evidence to suggest that they would behave any differently about an agreement to renounce nuclear bombs completely.

There is nothing necessarily dishonourable in this. The diplomats in themselves might be men of sensitive integrity. It is the disputing nature of capitalist society which forces them to make, and break, their pledges. However deep in the mud they may lie, or however thick,

on the pavement they may sit, the unilateralists will never get around that problem.

In fundamentals, the policies of capitalist governments never change, although in more superficial matters there are opportunities to alter their immediate policy, and they often do so. For example, there is a lot of evidence that since Stalin's death the Russian ruling class has tended to adopt a less belligerent attitude towards their opponents. Stalin, whatever else can be said of him, was one of capitalism's strong men; his successors have shown a more subtle touch. That is what has made Moscow's tough attitude on the tests that little bit more chilling.

How serious is it, then? Travellers from the United States and from Eastern Europe tell the same story—of people all in a panic about war. But we should keep the bomb tests in their perspective, and remember that weapons are not in themselves the cause of war. The next conflict will spring from the disputes of capitalism—from the Koreans, the Kuwaits, the Berlins. In the meantime, with their bomb tests, space shots, sub-Arctic submarines and the rest, the powers are only taking the normal capitalist precaution of arming themselves as destructively as they can.

Yes, the tests had to happen again. That may sound crazy, but that's the way it is. Because for the majority of people, happy to keep capitalism going, that is the way they want it.

IVAN.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W.
or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney
N.S.W.
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

World Socialist Party of Ireland

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

THE PASSING SHOW

No paradise

Now that the native Cypriot owing class, with the help of those Cypriots whom it deluded into helping, has thrown out the former British rulers, its spokesmen are making clear to the Cypriot people that they cannot expect much benefit from the struggle. Archbishop Makarios, the leader of the fight for "liberation," and now President of Cyprus, takes the lead. Recently he was reported as having admitted that unemployment has risen to an unprecedented peak (*Daily Express*, 22/8/61). He went on to say: "It isn't going to be paradise."

Who said it was going to be paradise? When the Cypriot propertied class wanted to throw the British out, there were plenty of promises about the good time coming when Cyprus achieved "independence": but now the fight is over, the Cypriot workers—like workers elsewhere—are finding out that the only people who ever achieve freedom and independence in a propertied society are the property-owners. The Cypriot workers are no more "independent" or "free" now than they were under British rule.

Freedom and Justice

Another non-paradise is Ghana. There,

President Nkrumah's right to imprison without trial about two hundred of the opposition United Party has been contested unsuccessfully in the courts. Counsel for the prisoners, who have been in jail untried since November, 1959, based his objection on the presidential declaration that "freedom and justice should be honoured and maintained" (*The Guardian*, 29/8/61). The Ghana Supreme (Appeal) Court has, however, upheld Nkrumah's Preventive Detention Act, and has decided that the declarations made by Nkrumah on taking office were "similar to the Coronation oath taken by the Queen of England during the Coronation service." The declarations, they said, "merely represent the goal which every President must pledge himself to achieve," and held that neither the Coronation oath in Britain nor the presidential declarations in Ghana "can be said to have the statutory effect of an act of parliament."

Promises

Two points may be made here. The Coronation oath of the British monarch, to keep the laws and customs of the country, is one which would be rigidly enforced if necessary. Any monarch disregarding it would get his or her march-

FLORENCE DALE

With deep sadness, we have to announce the death of Comrade Florence Dale of Wembley Branch, who was better known to many party members by the friendlier name of Queenie.

She joined the party in 1950, becoming first a member of Ealing Branch and later helping to found the new branch at Wembley. Queenie was not a speaker or a writer, but she played her full part in the backroom jobs without which the more "glamorous" work in the party could not carry on.

Much of her work was on the party's Library Committee, looking after our collection of books, and—most essential—seeing that each month the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* went out to the long list of postal

subscribers. She also served on the Head Office Social Committee and on many working committees in her branch.

Queenie was an active, warm, humane person who has left many friends in the party to grieve that she will no more listen to the music, and hike over the Downs, which she loved so well. She worked hard for Socialism and we shall carry on that work, because we know that that is what she would have wished.

To Queenie's husband, Comrade Leslie Dale, also of Wembley Branch, we offer our sincere, comradely sympathy. We share with him the loss of a loyal friend and a staunch comrade. We shall remember her for a very long time.

ing orders from the ruling class forthwith. Only twenty-five years ago the ruling class sacked its then figurehead, Edward VIII, giving him less notice than a well-behaved butler could have expected, simply because that monarch showed signs of wanting to ignore the code of behaviour laid down for him by the ruling class and marry a divorced woman. This code, of course, is not observed by the ruling class itself necessarily: indeed, some of our rulers marry and divorce each other with a regularity which would have made a Turkish Sultan shake his head. But the figurehead must observe stricter standards. And if a monarch was dismissed merely for wanting to breach a social code, how much more speedily the ruling class would act against one who contravened the laws made for the benefit of that class. The Ghana Supreme Court, in fact, was well wide of the mark here.

But in the other half of its judgment it was on firmer ground. How right it was to pour scorn on those who expect a politician to keep his promises! President Nkrumah is not merely a figurehead, but the chief executive of the Ghanaian ruling class, and he is sure of his position so long as he serves his masters well. If the exigencies of policy require that opposition politicians shall be jailed without trial, then to jail they go. And no pious oaths, however solemn, about upholding freedom and justice can be allowed to stand in the way.

Anti-strike effort

But Nkrumah's police-state methods do not stop there. Some five thousand port and railway workers recently went on strike "over Government austerity wage cuts" (*The Times*, 11/9/61). The Ghana Government has assumed "far-reaching powers to prohibit meetings, requisition vehicles, control traffic, and imprison saboteurs." In the twin port towns of Takoradi and Sekondi, the centres of the strike, "convicted saboteurs" can be jailed for ten years. "Anyone suspected of hampering the anti-strike effort can be held for 72 hours instead of the normal

20 hours." Police headquarters reported that all was quiet in the two towns, and all gatherings of workers were being dispersed. The Minister for Presidential Affairs warned civil servants—a term which includes railwaymen and some of the port workers—that if they stayed out on strike more than ten days they would be sacked and not taken on again. According to the *Sunday Times* (10/9/61), "the Government is now taking the strike leaders to court, charged with illegally inciting to strike."

The Ghana Government appears to be going very near to making striking itself illegal—in other words, almost introducing a system of, forced labour. What a change of front since the days when the Ghanaian owning class wanted the help of the workers against the British!

More Freedom

A third country to gain its "freedom" in the last decade is Nigeria. There, thirteen citizens of the Northern Region recently had a drink—harmless enough, one might think. But the penal code of the region forbids Muslims to touch alcohol. So the offending Nigerians have been fined, and sentenced to eighty strokes of the cane.

What good does it do the workers to exchange one set of masters for another?

ALWYN EDGAR.

WEMBLEY PUBLIC MEETING
Monday 30th October 8pm

Introducing the Socialist Party

Speaker: C. May

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,
Harrow Road, Wembley.

Opposite "The Fusilier", nearest stations,
Sudbury Town (Piccadilly line), Wembley
Central (Bakerloo line & B.R.) Buses 16, 18, 92, 662

Commencing Monday 9th October

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Monday 7.30pm

HEAD OFFICE, 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, SW4

Details page 158



October 1911

PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH STRIKES

At the recent Trades Union Congress... a resolution was moved on the Friday severely condemning the Bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Will Crooks to end industrial disputes...

Briefly, it is a bill that seeks to abolish strikes altogether. It lays it down that employers and employees should give at least thirty days' notice of an intended change affecting conditions of employment with respect to wages and hours; that it shall be unlawful for any employer to declare or cause a lock-out, or for any employee to go on strike on account of any dispute before or during a reference of such a dispute to a board of conciliation and investigation, any employer declaring or causing a lock-out being liable to a fine of not less than £20 nor more than £200 for each day or part of a day that such lock-out exists, and any employee going on strike being liable to a fine of not less than £2 nor more than £10 per day. (Why didn't Mr. Crooks make the employees' fine £100 or £1,000 per day while he was about it? The modesty of the bill in only claiming £10 per day from a man who is probably striking for a living wage is distinctly rich.)

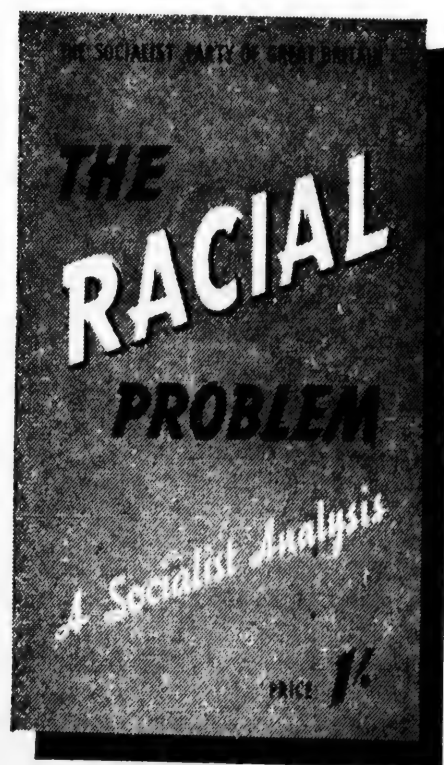
A further clause in the bill declares that any person who incites, encourages, or aids in any manner any employer to declare and continue a lock-out, or any employee to go or continue on strike, shall be liable to a fine of not less than £10 nor more than £200.

From the

SOCIALIST STANDARD, October 1911.

[Other Labour M.P.'s who supported the Bill, which was not passed, were Henderson, Barnes, Fenwick and Enoch Edwards; the last-named said it was "inadvertently" as he gave his name without reading the Bill and did not approve of it. The T.U.C. resolution of condemnation was passed unanimously.]

Read

SCHOOLS
TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.



For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

BOOKS

THE STAGNANT SOCIETY

The Stagnant Society, by Michael Shanks. Penguin Books, 3s. 6d.

IN CASE YOU SHOULD think from the title that this is a radical attack on the very basis of modern society, let us disillusion you right away. This is a sort of "Wake up Britain" book.

Mr. Shanks is very much concerned that Britain in the 1960's is losing the productivity race with other countries and is failing to compete successfully in world markets. A large chunk of the book is taken up with criticising the trade unions and urging them to mend their ways. Why don't they co-operate with employers and government? Why don't they put an end to wildcat strikes? Why don't they tighten up on organisation, etc.? Look at the following extract from page 102, for example:—

... I want to see it (the T.U. Movement) play a much more forceful and positive role in helping to make Britain more dynamic and more efficient... They (the Trade Unions) have got to find a new dynamic to replace the old fading appeal to working-class solidarity and negative opposition to the 'bosses'.

In 236 pages, the author sweeps across the post-war industrial field and skims blithely over one problem after another. Labour relations, financial policy, government planning, export drives, labour mobility—they are all there, and many more besides. And having waded through to the bitter end, what does it all amount to but a plan for the smoother operation of British Capitalism? "If we are in competition with manufacturers overseas," he says, "the solution is not to move out of their way but to make ourselves more efficient and competitive than they are... Planning should be aimed at promoting expansion and not avoiding competition."

Do not be misled either by the short publisher's note on the back cover, with its vague references to "class divisions." This book is *not* an attack on a class-divided society. It is really only an appeal for co-operation between the classes "in the national interest," which Mr. Shanks fondly labels as a "breaking down of class barriers." Capitalist

ownership of the means of life—the barrier—he does not question. We have, of course, heard it all many times before.

Perhaps you should read *The Stagnant Society*. It will possibly give you an insight into current misconceptions about the Capitalist World—that's if you don't die of boredom halfway through it. We understand this is Michael Shanks' first book. We regret we cannot recommend it for an honoured place on a Socialist's bookshelf.

E. T. C.

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

BOOKS RECEIVED
AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS
by Raya Dunayevskaya
Left Group, Cambridge University
Labour Club, 2s. 6d.

Notes on Economic History (12)

Malthus on Poverty

FROM HIS LAW of population, Malthus infers that Governments should, on the one hand, remove all obstacles to the cultivation of the soil and, on the other, favour preventive checks, especially the postponement of marriage. The following passage from the 1803 edition is interesting: "A man born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand, and if society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and in fact has no right to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast, there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to begone and will quickly execute her own orders if he does not work upon the compassion of her guests."

Malthus therefore recommends the reduction of paupers' relief to a minimum. Money used to support the poor or destitute, he argues, is taken from the other classes in society, and especially from that section of the working class that is only just outside of destitution. For this poor relief, says Malthus, increases demand, and thus raises the price of food, clothing and shelter.

Malthus' main demand is for "moral restraint." He writes: "It is clearly the duty of each individual not to marry till he has the prospect of supporting his children; but it is at the same time to be wished that he should retain undiminished his desire of marriage, in order that he may exert himself to realise this prospect, and be stimulated to make provision for the support of greater numbers."

Arising from this, it was proposed to put legal difficulties in the way of marriage. The poor who had no prospects of being able to support a family were to be forbidden to marry.

The Malthusian doctrine attracted widespread attention, and was accepted almost without qualification by many scientists. It also made a strong impression on governments, and its effects were seen in the increased stringency of the marriage laws. Down to 1918 vestiges of this persisted in Bavaria and the Austrian Tyrol, where marriage could not be entered into without the permission of the commune.

The astonishing fact about the Malthusian theory is its persistence in face of evidence that confutes it. To go to the core of the question, we can say there is

no evidence to warrant the assumption that there is any tendency in population to increase faster than subsistence. The facts stated by Malthus to show this tendency, simply show that where, owing to a small population in a new country, or where, owing to the unequal distribution of wealth, as among the working class in the old country, human life is occupied with physical necessity of existence, the tendency to reproduce is at a rate which, if unchecked, would at some time exceed subsistence. But it is not correct to infer from this that the tendency to reproduce would show itself to the same extent where population was sufficiently dense, and where wealth was distributed in such a way as to lift the whole community above the necessity of devoting their energies to a struggle for mere existence. Nor can it be assumed that the tendency to reproduce, by causing poverty, must prevent the existence of such a community; for this obviously would be assuming the very point at issue and be reasoning in a circle. And even if it be admitted that the tendency to multiply must ultimately cause poverty, it cannot be stated of existing poverty that it is due to this cause until it is shown that there are no other causes which can account for it.

The Malthus theory has persisted, and will persist, because it does not in any way oppose or antagonise any powerful interest. It is soothing and reassuring to the class who, wielding the power of wealth, largely dominate thought. Indeed, at a time when men were beginning to

question and examine society, it came to the aid of the ruling class. *The Essay on Population* was written as an answer to William Godwin's *Inquiry concerning Political Justice*, a book which dealt with the principle of human equality, and the effect of Malthus' book was to justify the existing inequality by shifting responsibility for it from the laws of society to some kind of God-given laws.

The Socialist of today still has to contend with Malthusian ideas, in a modern form. They become more prevalent in times of large-scale unemployment, and are also used as an excuse to justify poverty in such places as India, Africa, the Latin countries of America. The answer to Malthus, and the modern exponents of his teachings, is to be found in the method of ownership of the means of producing wealth.

Poverty, as dealt with by Malthus, is not in fact the result of excessive breeding. It is the chaotic nature of the capitalist system which must be blamed. Its solution is obvious—remove the cause which the Socialist claims is the private property relation in the means of production. Make this property common property, and the common access to wealth which follows such a change will provide the answer to poverty, present or future.

R. A.

THOSE BONUS SHARES

continued from page 151

the year before. But of course this increase of dividend does not arise from or depend upon the issue of bonus shares. Our correspondent's letter admits as much, for in his own example the shareholders get the £200,000 whether the bonus issue is made (10 per cent on 2 million shares) or whether no bonus issue is made (20 per cent on 1 million shares). All that it tells us is that if a company's profits increase sufficiently it can pay out twice as much dividend, whether it makes a bonus issue or not.

The final paragraph is equally irrelevant to the question of bonus shares. It is quite true that if a company makes enough profit to pay out an annual dividend equal to 10 per cent of the original capital it will take only ten years for the shareholders to get back all their original investment and still hold their shareholding. But this result is achieved whether the company issues bonus shares or not, it all depends on making sufficient profit. If the company does not make enough profit an issue of bonus shares is not going to make any difference.

We repeat—the issue of bonus shares does not add to profits or dividends. H.

GLASGOW BRANCH LECTURES
(details see page 159)

Problems of
the Sixties

A series of Lectures
every Sunday 7.30
from October 1st, 1961 to
April 29th, 1962

ST. ANDREWS HALL,
Berkeley Street, Room 2, Door G

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

Caxton Hall, Westminster, SW1
Wednesday, 18th October, 7.30 pm
(see front page)

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Head Office, 53 Clapham High St., SW4
Mondays, 7.30 pm

October 9th

"THE GERMAN STORY"

October 16th

"REMINISCENCES OF LENIN"

October 23rd

"10 DAYS THAT SHOOK THE COMMONWEALTH"

October 30th

"DEADLY THE HARVEST"

November 6th

"ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE"

The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.

PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1
Wednesday at 9 pm

11th October

"SOCIALISM AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS"

Speaker: E. Kersley

1st November

"IMPLICATIONS OF THE COMMON MARKET"

Speaker: E. Grant

8th November

"MY AMERICAN VISIT"

Speaker: Gilmac

15th November

"TRADE UNIONS TODAY"

Speaker: J. Edmonds

22nd November

"ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAYS"

Speaker: J. Law

29th November

"CAN WE IGNORE THE STATE MACHINE?"

Speaker: Michael

DEBATE

Sunday, 29th October, 7 pm
Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road Victoria, SW1

"SHOULD SOCIALISTS SUPPORT CND?"

YES: Richard Headicar (CND)
NO: Melvin Harris (SPGB)

Branch News



The subjects for October and November are listed under Meetings.

EALING

Ealing Branch is now meeting regularly again after the short holiday break in August. The Branch has been given a new meeting room—bigger, more comfortable, and generally much more pleasant than its previous one. This will certainly provide more incentive for members to venture forth on miserable winter nights.

A very busy winter season is being planned. One of the members now has access to a film projector unit and the Branch intends to take the fullest advantage of this in arranging its lectures and discussions. The new room will also be much more practicable for this purpose. We hope to give further details of the programme next month.

PADDINGTON

Having the Overseas Secretary as their own Branch Secretary is not the only reason for its increasingly international flavour. The proximity of Hyde Park and their virtually West-End location are also important factors. A Wednesday in August is a case in point. Following upon the greetings received from the two branch members visiting Newfoundland, on the chairman's table was a letter from Pierre, a good friend of the Party now back in France. Its main purpose was to express, with appreciation, the extent to which his own socialistic leanings had been clarified and given direction by his participation in Branch and Party meetings. In attendance was Comrade Bryant. It was the eve of his trip round Europe prior to his return to Australia. He was deluged with the addresses of people all over the Continent whom we know to be in sympathy with us. Also in attendance and very welcome was our Austrian comrade, Ernst. Some members met him in Italy last year but for some time he has been working in Scandinavia and he reported briefly but with humour and insight on the scene as he finds it there. A sad note was struck on recollecting that it was he who had first introduced our late Lisa Bryan to the Party. He was able to pass over to the Branch some of her old lecture notes which are certain to be of further educational value.

As they meet in a room above a pub their timetable is governed by the licensing laws which means they have to adjourn before closing time at eleven. However, those who are prepared for a "morning after the night before" usually fit in another three quarters of an hour of discussion at a coffee shop down the road. On the night in question a dozen members descended on the place and to their delight they were joined there by several others including our good comrade M. L. on the eve of his return to the West Indies where the climate is a lot healthier than ours, he finds. A friend just back from Turkey called just in time to give Peter Bryant a

DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM

Wednesday, October 18th, is the day of the third central London meeting in the DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM series and is being held in CAXTON HALL, Westminster.

The two previous meetings (filling St. Pancras Town Hall in April and Conway Hall in July) were stimulating and successful by all standards. Now, with one speaker drawn from each, a bigger and, it is hoped, an even more fruitful meeting will be held. The normal Party arrangement of the order of the meeting will ensure a substantial part of the time will be devoted to questions and discussion contributions from the audience—this procedure itself aiding the DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIALISM.

Since it is quite a long time since the SPGB has held meetings at the Caxton Hall, a word or two on the situation of the hall might be timely. Caxton Hall lies just off Victoria Street about mid-way between Victoria Station and Parliament Square. Several bus routes use Victoria Street and St. James's station (Circle & District Lines) is nearby the hall.

The meeting starts at 7.30 p.m.

DELEGATE MEETING

The Autumn Delegate Meeting will be held at Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 on Saturday and Sunday, October 7th and 8th. Saturday, 2.30 pm to 6 pm, Sunday 11 am to 6 pm. Arrangements are being made by the Standing Orders Committee to re-arrange the seating arrangements in order that the maximum comfort will be possible.

GLASGOW

The two Glasgow Branches, having joined up again in their work for Socialism, have reverted to their original name—Glasgow Branch instead of City and Kelvin-grove. They have had a most successful outdoor season this summer, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

They have arranged a very ambitious programme of weekly lectures extending to the Spring under the title "Problems of the Sixties". Each month's lectures will be devoted to a particular aspect of this, as follows:—

November 1961—In Britain Today.

December 1961—The British Political Scene.

January 1962—Power Politics.

February 1962—The Socialist Searchlight.

March 1962—Marxism Today.

April 1962—History Today.

few interesting addresses in Germany and an Indian sympathiser of long standing spent the evening with us.

Their wide perspective has not lessened their enthusiasm for Branch propaganda outings to places nearer home. This summer Paddington has made successful and highly enjoyable trips to Coventry, Nottingham and Stevenage and on our very doorstep, Hyde Park has proved to be well worth the running on Thursday nights.

WEMBLEY

Wembley Branch are pleased to announce that their first indoor public meeting will take place on October 30th when Comrade C. May will be "Introducing the SPGB" to the workers of Wembley. Quite a lot of time and money have been spent on preparing and publicising the event, and Branch members are hoping for a good attendance. Full details of time and place will be found in the advert elsewhere in this issue.

The second of the Branch canvassing efforts in Portsmouth was successful although hampered somewhat by a late start. On this occasion we had the welcome help of a member from Woolwich Branch. During the afternoon and evening, the usual meeting was held on the sea-front to an attentive audience, and lit. sales were most encouraging. This is an excellent speaking station. It deserves regular visits throughout the summer season.

Preparations are being made for a series of lectures by Branch members through the winter months. The last series dealt with various religious movements and was very successful. Any comrade having a special knowledge of a particular subject is encouraged to hold forth and other members find this a great help in broadening their general background.

Branch S.S. Sales are now running at over 20 dozen a month. The excellent summer outdoor season has, of course, helped a lot but the persistent canvassing efforts must not be forgotten either. It is the intention to continue these throughout the winter. At the same time we shall encourage our present contacts to attend the

WEMBLEY PUBLIC MEETING

Monday, 30th October, 8 pm
Barham Old Court, Barham Park,
Harrow Road, Wembley

"INTRODUCING THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN"
(see advert on page 155 for details)

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays
Hyde Park, 3 pm
East Street, Walworth
Clapham Common, 3 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

branch—and in particular the public meeting already mentioned.

Not forgetting the lighter side, a social will be held at Christmas and we hope it will be at least as successful as last year's. Full details and tickets will be available later, of course, but preliminary work has already begun.

DONATIONS

For a long time now we have been receiving regular 5/- donations from some one signing themselves "Anon". Regular donations are a considerable help to a working class party like ours which suffers from restrictive finances. Thank you Comrade.

LITERATURE

The small committee which had such great success in selling literature at the Russian Exhibition at Earls Court, have had further success. A member of the Committee, Comrade Hyams of Hackney Branch, went to the Trade Union Congress at Portsmouth and during the period of the conference sold 60 Socialist Standards and 50 various pamphlets. This is excellent work and Comrades throughout the country could follow this up by attending local political meetings and selling the Party literature.

AMERICAN TOUR

Comrade Gilmac is working hard on his American tour and it is hoped to have details of the meetings he has addressed and his television and radio talks in our next issue.

CANADA

The Toronto group is making encouraging progress. Our Comrades Catt, report good discussions and attendances at all of their meetings—even during the hot summer months. Over 20 meetings have been held so far, a grand achievement, especially when it is remembered that the group has been in existence for only a few months.

Persistent attempts are made to keep in the public eye, and with the growth of the group, other socialist comrades in the area are giving their support, so that there is a possibility of forming a local of the S.P.C. in the near future. A heartening report indeed of courage and determination in the face of gigantic odds. Best wishes to our Toronto comrades.

FILM MEETINGS

The H. O. Film Meetings commence on 9th October with an interesting film "The German Story", which has just been made by the German Democratic Republic. This remarkable film took two years to make and tells the story of two world wars. It takes 85 minutes to run. A large audience is expected. Remember that the film meetings have been changed to MONDAY evenings.

GLASGOW MEETINGS

St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street,
Room 2, Door G

Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt
throughout the winter, until April
29th, 1962

PROBLEMS OF THE SIXTIES

1st October

"THE MONSTER IN THE HOLY LOCH"

Speaker: R. Donnelly

8th October

"ANALYSIS OF WORLD POLITICS"

Speaker: R. Russell

15th October

"PROBLEM OF RACE"

Speaker: J. Craig

22nd October

"MUST MEN WAGE WAR?"

Speaker: J. Higgins

29th October

"CAPITALISM—THE INSANE SOCIETY"

Speaker: J. Richmond

IN BRITAIN TODAY

5th November

"WHO OWNS BRITAIN?"

Speaker: A. Shaw

12th November

"THE BLACKBOARD JUNGLE"

Speaker: R. Donnelly

19th November

"OF WILDCATS AND WAGES"

Speaker: R. Reid

26th November

"EUROPEAN BRITAIN OR BRITISH EUROPE?"

Speaker: R. Russell

EALING LECTURE

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing
Broadway

Friday, 3rd November, 8 pm

"MODERN ISRAEL"

Speaker: Jon Keys

WEMBLEY LECTURE

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,
near Sudbury Town Station

Monday, October 9th, 8 pm

"MATTHIAS ALEXANDER"

Speaker: E. C. Edge

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3
Wednesday, 11th October, 8 p.m.

"JEHOVAH WITNESSES"

Speaker: J. Law.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

P. H.

H-BOMB DIPLOMACY



STRAIGHT FORWARD AND CONSISTENT DOUBLE-TALK

"It is a well-known fact that the policy of the Soviet Government is straightforward and consistent on this issue: a complete and unconditional stop to the testing of nuclear weapons."

Academician A. V. Topchiev in Forward to "Nuclear Explosions—A World-wide Hazard." Moscow, 1959

WELL, IT HAD TO HAPPEN. Of course, on all sides there was dismay, or fear, or anger, when first Russia and then the United States announced that they were going to resume testing nuclear bombs. And who wouldn't feel like that. Ever since the atom bomb came mushrooming onto the world scene, there has been no lack of scientists to tell us how bad it is for our health to have the things tested. True, there is disagreement on the extent of the danger from the tests (the testing governments, as we may expect, like to play it down), but nobody has yet been able to say that they are anything but dangerous. But now the big tests have started again, and the fact is— it had to happen.

Because, as now seems fairly obvious, the nuclear powers agreed to stop tests in 1958 only after they had completed a significant stage in their nuclear weapon build up. At the time, we remember, the United States and the Soviet Union packed in a lot of tests, pushing themselves hard to beat the deadline. (Russia just failed to make it). These tests, with their predecessors, must have yielded enough knowledge for the nuclear powers to mull over whilst they were busily developing other aspects of their weapons. We all know that they have been polishing up on rocketry, perfecting their accuracy and boosting their range. Now, they are at the stage which demands further bomb tests, if the work of the last three years is not to be wasted.

The big snag is that, for political reasons, neither side wanted to be labelled as the one which started it all again. Over recent years, Russian foreign policy has often shown itself sensitive to such things. Perhaps Khrushchev did not want Russia to be the country to break the test ban. Perhaps he held off as long as he could, until his hand was forced. There certainly seems to be in Moscow a belligerent, military pressure group which regards Khrushchev's policy as too conciliatory to the West, just as America and this country have their hotheads who are all for a showdown. We saw some of the work of the Moscow group when Khrushchev was forced to break up the last Summit meeting in Paris. If these people have had their way again, that would

continued on page 153

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Official Journal
of the Socialist Party
of Great Britain

NOVEMBER 1961 / 6d

Labour Party's Image

page 166

BRITAIN IN THE COMMON MARKET

page 165

GHANA: WAS IT WORTH IT?

page 171

REPORT ON PIECEWORK

page 168

Also in this issue **Thoughts on Thinking** (173) **Religion** (170) **Passing Show** (169)

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (2nd & 16th Nov) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Mondays 8 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. Nov 3rd, at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Nov 17th at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evans, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCELS 2nd Monday (Nov 13th) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Patrickburgh Hall, Patrick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (6th & 20th Nov) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13, Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Broakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushway Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (8th & 22nd November) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX (formerly Basildon and Southend) 2nd and 4th Mondays (13th & 27th Nov) in month 8 pm, 17 Cotswood Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (6th & 20th Nov) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls, Correspondence: P. Mallor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th & 23rd Nov) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 7.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th & 24th Nov) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 16th Nov 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAJ 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Cradock, "Hazel-croft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. Post paid



IN THIS ISSUE

164 News in Review

Wage Battles
Adenauer Again
Nkrumah Strikes
Labour in Conference

165 The Common Market

166 Reflections on Images

167 Letters: "Brave New World"

168 Finance and Industry

Report on Piecework
Bevan & Piecework
Impact of Automation
Russia's Oil Market
Our "prosperity"
Russian Industry

169 The Passing Show

170 Chasing Shadows

171 First Things First

171 Ghana—was it worth it?

172 Books: Colonialism

173 Thoughts on Thinking

176 Branch News & Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
Telephone Macaulay 3811

November 1961 Vol 57 No 687

Effective Democratic Control

Now that the last delegates have packed their bags, we may well ask what the whole palaver of the Labour and Conservative Conferences really amounted to?

They voted for and against many resolutions. The Labour Party reversed its support for unilateralism. The Conservatives surprised the pundits by heavily voting down a resolution in favour of whipping and the birch. They, all of them, passionately argued their points of view, and seemed to take themselves very seriously. But what did their votes add up to?

After their election defeat in 1959, the Labour Party debated how much say its Conference should have in deciding policy. They searched deep into their archives, digging up a lot of contradictory pronouncements on the question. At the end of it all, the Labour leadership stated bluntly that Annual Conference decisions did not necessarily commit the Parliamentary Labour Party. In effect a future Labour government would act as the needs of the day (i.e., British Capitalism) dictated. And if this meant—as in past Labour governments—breaking Conference decisions, it would be unfortunate but necessary.

Likewise with the Conservative Party (although they have never pretended that their Annual Conference should dictate policy). On the two main issues at Brighton—the Common Market and Penal Reform—there was a possibility that the Government's policy would be defeated (as it turned out, it was upheld). The Party leaders made it clear, anyway, beforehand that they would not be deterred by any adverse decisions.

It seems reasonable enough to expect that majority decisions of political parties, as expressed at democratically convened conferences, should decide policy. But the Labour and Conservative Parties, both upholders of Capitalism, must take other considerations into account.

Capitalism can only be run in the interest of the Capitalist class. The majority of us—the working class—suffer the brunt of the system's evils, which only Socialism will remove. Conservative and Labour Party delegates at their conferences, full with their pet reform measures, often take no account of the basic facts of Capitalism, which contradict the intention of their proposals. Inevitably, the Party leaders faced directly with the administering of Capitalism, will ignore their own followers' wishes.

The leaders of the Labour and Conservative Parties are concerned with the day to day running of British Capitalism, and their supporters are living in a dream world if they imagine that their grumbles and whims will radically change the direction of Government policy.

Further, it is not possible for Capitalism, with its commercial rivalries, its diplomatic intrigues, its "defence" secrets, etc., to be administered openly, for everyone to see. Socialism in contrast will be based on common ownership and democratic control. And democracy in this context will really be effective.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Wages Battles

THE BIG THING about Selwyn Lloyd's small Budget was that it threw out a sort of challenge to the trade unions.

And one of the big things about this winter may be that the unions will accept the invitation to do battle.

The engineers have put in their annual pay claim and the railwaymen are certain to follow suit. If these unions get the same sort of treatment as the government has handed out to the teachers and the civil servants, there will surely be some big strikes.

This is what governments have tried to avoid since the war, preferring to inflate the currency rather than meet the unions head on. The Labour government, with its wage freeze, had perhaps the nearest to a strong anti-union policy.

Since then, the Tories have played it cool. But we were promised some changes when Mr. Lloyd went to the Treasury and the wage pause is one of them.

One fact, though, the wage pause will not change. Workers always have a struggle to get by and always have to fight to keep up their living standards.

That will be worth remembering if the wage pause gets a grip, and the usual bunch of muddle-heads mourn the days before Selwyn Lloyd as a time of free prosperity for the working class.

There just isn't any such thing.

Adenauer Again

DR. ADENAUER'S CHANCES of keeping his grip of the West German Chancellorship were not, at one time, rated very highly.

Most observers expected a close result to the recent elections, with the Free Democrats holding the balance of power in a stalemate between Adenauer's C.D.U. and Brandt's Social Democrats.

And the Free Democrat leader, Dr. Erich Mende, was quite firm that, if his party was invited to form a coalition government with the C.D.U., he would assent only if Adenauer gave up being Chancellor.

Now that Dr. Mende has reversed his attitude and is agreeable to serving under Adenauer, there are one or two questions which many Germans must be asking themselves.

How many of the four million-odd voters who put their cross against a Free Democratic candidate did so precisely because they approved of Mende's apparent determination to get rid of the aged Adenauer? And are those voters feeling baffled, or annoyed, about this betrayal?

Whether Adenauer, or Erhard, or Brandt, is Chancellor will make no difference to the German working class.

But it should be instructive for them to observe the cynical manoeuvres of their politicians and to reflect that this sort of thing goes on all the time, all over the world.

Nkrumah Strikes

DR. NKUMAH HAS MADE a habit of dis-appointing some of the well-meaning asses who supported him because they thought that he wanted to set up a democratic state in Ghana.

These people fall so readily and so persistently for any small-time nationalist who breezes along that it is fair to assume they are able to ignore any evidence which points out the error of their ways.

But surely even they were unsettled by Nkrumah's recent arrest of his political opponents, and by the propaganda which accompanied it?

When the Ghana government roped in the fifty politicians, the official statement

justified the arrests by referring to "... acts of violence, secret meetings ... strikes, sabotage, lockouts ... conduct destructive and subversive, against the Constitution and other legal institutions of the State."

Now this rings a bell. It is just the sort of vague accusations which colonial powers use to excuse the suppression of a rising nationalist movement.

To read it takes us back to the early nineteen-fifties, when Nkrumah was in gaol. The asses were braying, then, for his release, because he was supposed to be leading Ghana to freedom. Are they surprised that he has turned out to be no better than the rulers he replaced?

We know our asses too well. Even if they drop the dictator in Accra, they will soon be taking up the cause of some other Nkrumah of the future.

Labour Conference

WHAT WAS THE THEME of this year's Labour Party Conference?

Revolution? Radicalism? Reform, even?

Well, no—respectability.

Many responsible newspapers have been worried for a long time at Labour's inability to dent the Tories' confidence. None of them want to see the British capitalist class having to rely upon only one party to form their governments for them.

So they were full of concern that Labour should have a dignified conference. They all hoped for the sort of inoffensive, meaningless resolutions which would make the Labour Party appear as a party which any man of good will could vote for.

This is what is needed to make Mr. Gaitskell anything like a reasonable bet for Prime Minister.

The platform at Brighton played exactly as the press had advised and, except for one or two resolutions, the conference as a whole also fell into line.

This is the logical end to the Labour Party road of power conscious, capitalist reform policies. It is the end which Socialists foretold over fifty years ago, when the Labour Party were busily dubbing us Impossibleists.

Perhaps some of the Labour pioneers never thought it would come to this.

Blackpool, 1961, has done its share to show how wrong they were.

THE COMMON MARKET

Britain on the Brink

BRITISH CAPITALISM has decided to take its chance with the Common Market. After shivering at the water's edge for a long, long time it has at last ventured as far as the end of the diving-board. It even shows signs this time that it is really going to take the plunge.

At least its political representatives do. Re-inforced by the support of the Brighton Conference, even if it was apparently only given after some heavy gunning from the platform, the Conservative leadership can contemplate the next step with easier minds.

Their special envoy, Mr. Heath, has lost no time. He has already told the Six how anxious Britain is to join them, how keen she is to abide by their principles, and with what determination she is ready to carry them out. What a come-down and what hypocrisy!

Ever since the Common Market came into existence, and even before that when its predecessors like the Coal and Steel Community were being formed, British Capitalism has held aloof. For what it no doubt considered quite good economic and political reasons it preferred the safe and easy markets of the Commonwealth to taking risks in Europe. Even when it became clear that the Common Market was becoming a strong economic threat, the U.K. still attempted to thwart it by setting up a rival firm (EFTA or the Seven) as a counterweight. They tried all the other well-known Capitalist dodges into the bargain, such as playing off their rivals against each other, in particular by trying to drive a wedge between France and Germany.

When it became clear that EFTA was hardly in the race the Government immediately set to work to condition British Capitalism to the fact that there was no alternative but to jump on the Common Market band-wagon. In the words of the well-known phrase, "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em."

Since then, they have calmly proceeded to swallow most of what they had said before (as well as a considerable amount of pride) and now calmly go forward, cap in hand, to try to get in as though this had been their intention right along. As more than one commentator has pointed out, the Government spokesmen at the Conservative Conference shot down all the arguments against joining without mercy—every one of which argu-

ments they themselves had been using only a little before!

All the countries concerned with the Common Market are, of course, manoeuvring for position just like Britain. One of Britain's problems, for example, has been how to cope with its obligations to the other countries in EFTA. It need not have worried so much. When the time came for them to make application to the Six it was to find that the "neutrals," Austria, Sweden and Switzerland, had already been negotiating with the Community behind their backs and had in fact succeeded in obtaining some quite useful concessions. So much for the niceties of international agreements under Capitalism.

At the same time, the Six themselves are jockeying for positions of self-advantage. The Netherlands are the most inclined to let Britain join, the French the most opposed. These attitudes have nothing to do with anything other than hard economic and political facts. The Dutch would be very pleased to see a further large market for their agricultural produce come into the Community whilst the French are still almost as suspicious as ever that British Capitalism's only motive for joining is to get inside and smash it.

These are only a few examples of the conflicts of interest underlying everything connected with the Common Market. Every one of the countries involved has its own economic and political interests to safeguard by almost any method it can. There are few holds barred.

The Conservatives managed to bulldoze through their Conference an overwhelming vote of support for their decision. But a lot is going to depend on how the negotiations go. If they get the Six to look favourably on their difficulties with the Commonwealth they will not have too much to fear. If the Six also prove co-operative over agriculture, they will be even happier. But should the discussions on either of these topics run into trouble, the Conservatives will be in trouble, too. There is a large element within the Party which is very touchy on both aspects and which would break out into full cry again if things went badly in the negotiations.

As for the Labour Party, immersed more than ever in the day to day affairs of Capitalism, they hardly know where they are. Out of office, they can afford

to argue amongst themselves without the need to come to a decision one way or the other. But if they had been in power, it is a pretty safe bet that they would now be doing exactly the same thing as the Conservatives are doing, with probably the same misgivings and certainly the same dissensions. It is not, after all, by accident that *Tribune* and the *Daily Express* find themselves in one camp with Mr. Shinwell and Lord Hinchinbrook, and people like Mr. Heath and Mr. Woodrow Wyatt together in the other. In such ways do the economic forces of Capitalism speak louder than the pretences of Capitalist political parties.

For the essential thing to remember about all this hoo-ha over the Common Market is the harsh Capitalist reality underlying it. The reason why British Capitalism has at last got to the point of joining the Six is because its economic interests are pressing hard upon it to do so. Just how hard is demonstrated by what it is having to suffer in injured pride and swallowed words. And it is these same forces which helped to bring about the Common Market itself and which will again largely determine the attitude of its members to Britain's application to join and that of any other interested nation.

Politics also play their part, of course, politics which again have their roots in the harsh economic reality of Capitalism. The Common Market is to some extent the reflection of the realisation by such countries as France, Germany, and Italy, that their days as Big Powers have gone and that it is now the giants, such as Russia and the U.S.A. that dominate the world scene. The European Community seeks to present itself as a force on a par with these—with a population of 160 million and an industrial and agricultural production that can stand comparison with the giants. It is the forces of Capitalism again, at work in the drive towards bigger and bigger units within individual countries, and in the urge towards bigger units like the Common Market on the world scene. The smaller national units of Capitalism see cheaper and more efficient production in a larger international unit.

What is not an issue in the Common Market is the interests of the working-class. True, there are such things as plans to standardise working conditions within the Community and, in theory at any rate, the aim eventually to allow completely free movement of workers inside it, but essentially the workers' position will remain unchanged. Instead of working for a purely French or German firm, French and German workers may find

continued bottom page 166

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Monday 7.30pm

HEAD OFFICE, 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, SW4

Details page 176

REFLECTIONS ON IMAGES

MR. GAITSKELL HAS BEEN SAYING it again. This time, it was at a meeting at Blackpool, organised by *Socialist Commentary* during the last Labour Party Conference. Perhaps the Labour leader was joking. Perhaps he was trying to cheer everybody up. Or perhaps he was serious. Anyway, he said it. He denied that the Tories have the predominant appeal to the electorate and added: "I think the Labour Party at the moment has a tremendous opportunity which I hope it will grasp."

Now what must have struck the audience was that this is the sort of optimistic statement which political leaders are always putting out and which mean exactly nothing. The Labour Party reckoned that they were full of hopeful expectation just before Eden trounced them in 1955, and again when Macmillan came out on top two years ago. It is, in fact, curious that on one occasion when they did win, and with a thumping majority, there is evidence that they were not particularly optimistic. Mr. Shinwell once said that, although he expected the landslide victory in 1945, most of the other Labour leaders took a gloomier view of their chances. Naturally, nobody expects Mr. Gaitskell to say that he is looking forward to losing the next election and that there isn't really much point in all this arguing about election programmes because the Conservatives already have it in the bag. When he muses upon the Labour Party's great opportunities and the success which he says is in their grasp we know that, whether he is right or wrong, he is saying what he is compelled to by the necessities of his situation.

For Mr. Gaitskell must project an image of his party to the electorate.

ON THE BRINK from page 165

themselves belonging to a Common Market one, but such a situation has been developing for years and the Common Market, if it succeeds, will only complete this process.

No, the motive force of the Common Market and the events now associated with it is economic interest—the drive for profit. The task of the working-class, whether Britain joins it or not, will still be to get rid of the system that generates this drive for profit.

And in setting about that task the workers of Britain and of the Common Market do have a common interest.

S. H.

Labour are out for power over the affairs of British capitalism and to get this they do not have to educate or enlighten people. They only have to persuade enough voters that they are the cleverest, most responsible, most humane bunch of would be ministers in the land. And, of course, the most successful. Most politicians must be attached to the slogan "Nothing succeeds like success." Like the salesman who tells you that his product must be good because it sells so well, the political leader must always strive to give the impression that their fortunes are set fair. It is all part of the business of projecting an image.

It does not end there, as we saw at the last Labour Party Conference. This year's conference rejected once again the idea that they are a party of wholesale nationalisation. Let us say right away that nationalisation is not, and never was, anything more than an alternative method of organising capitalism. But the Labour pioneers used to cling to it as the cure-all for capitalism's ailments. We may depend on it that they would have castigated Mr. Gaitskell for his milk and water version of their favourite potion. Yet in doing so they would be ignoring the reasons for the Labour Party going back upon itself. Nationalisation, which might have had a brief fling as a vote-getter just after the war, is now an electoral liability. The theme of Mr. Gaitskell's great battle over Clause Four was his realisation that the surest way to lose votes was to declare for outright nationalisation. True, Gaitskell lost his battle over the clause. But his party's attitude to State control has changed and to that extent so has their public image.

We also saw at Blackpool—as we expected to see—the Labour Party break off its short flirtation with the unilateralists. Now that was a vote loser if you like. The nuclear disarmers are a small minority in the population—so small that there is no point in them testing their policy in a parliamentary election. It seems certain that if the Labour Party were to tie themselves permanently to C.N.D., it would not be long before they were counting their members in thousands instead of the hundreds of thousands of today. That may not worry a party of rigid principle, but for those who are bothered about getting power before anything else, it is a different matter.

Then there is the little business of strikes and this, sadly for Mr. Gaitskell, is something which cannot be shaken off by a conference resolution. There are a

lot of political correspondents who think that the London bus strike in 1958 did more damage to the Labour Party in the 1959 election than anything else. We all know why they are associated in the popular mind with strikers. The Labour Party built itself on a foundation of working class sympathy. At one time their members were proud to be at the head of the Jarrow marchers, to wear cloth caps to the Commons, to be militant trade unionists. Inevitably, strikers looked to the Labour Party for support and strikes became part of the party's image.

That was all very well in the old days, when Labour were climbing to power; it's very different now. Firstly, if they get into power over British capitalism, strikes are going to be a nuisance which they will have to deal with, just like 1945/50 all over again. Secondly, large numbers of workers regard strikes as stupid, or anti-social, or the work of layabouts, and so suspect a political party which they connect with them. This notion seems to be stubbornly held. If it were not, surely it would have been squashed by the stern anti-strike measures of the 1945 Labour government? Whatever the evidence, however much Mr. Gaitskell may soothe and reassure, no matter what his party may write in their manifestos, the idea will stay in working class heads. Strikes equal Labour. Labour equals strikes. This is the sort of thing which is so bad for the image which Mr. Gaitskell is trying to project.

For the Labour Party now wants to appear a moderate, adaptable party, ready to manage British capitalism without any complications like political theories. There is only one theory of management that is worth anything to capitalism, and that is that the system is administered in the interests of the capitalist class. Unless the Labour Party can convince enough workers that they conform to that theory they are out, and will stay out.

The Tories have fewer worries on this score. True, they have their wild men—the people described by one Labour Party delegate as "hangers, floggers and let's-ban-the-woggers." But there is little political *kudos* for the Labour Party in this. For many workers, among all their other false ideas, support capital and corporal punishment and, although they may not practice a colour bar, in fact regard Negroes as inferior beings and would agree to some control on immigration.

Here is one of the Conservative's trump cards. Whatever mistakes they may make, however black their record, they always seem to have enough of what it takes to ride their storms and to touch the responses of the working class. This is ironical, in a party which so openly stands for the privileges and inequalities of capitalism. Perhaps it is the Tories' empirical attitude which does the trick. Perhaps it is political flair. It could be that they are very clever, or that the working class are excessively stupid and forgetful. Whatever the reason for it, the fact is that the Tory image is a successful one.

The two great parties are not alone in worrying about their public image. Every day, everywhere, we are meeting the same thing. We see it in the advertisements which, since the days of fuller employment came to this country, have adopted an especially irritating image type. Now the earnest, well groomed, rising young

executive is the chap who buys the right car, uses the right sort of after-shave and knows which wine will not upset his boss. We meet the image on radio and television, with everybody striving to convince themselves that capitalism's all right and that what really matters is that, as the girl once said to Wilfred Pickles: "... people—are nice—to—people." This is the theme, too, of the newspapers with their unctuous human interest stories telling us about rock 'n' roll stars who still love their deaf grandmothers, or rich greengrocers who would swap it all for the pitter-patter of tiny feet.

Irritating and shameful as this may be, it should lead us to the bigger question of why it should happen at all. The answer is that the image men always project an impression of general satisfaction with capitalism. The people who are depicted as wholesome and confident are, after all, supporters of a social system which has produced the terror and inse-

curity of the modern world. And if we accept *their* standards the one thing we shall never do is to question the whys and wherefores of capitalism.

That leads us to an even bigger question. Are we satisfied with the terror and insecurity? Are we satisfied with being treated like mental infants who will be impressed by any vapid image that the politicians or the ad-men like to squirt at us?

The working class could rise above this. They could develop their social consciousness so that the political and commercial images lose their appeal. They *could* do this—in fact, they *must* do it, if there is to be hope of solving the world's problems. But there is no reason for the capitalist class to help in this. No matter; let us leave them with their images. We should be tackling hard, material reality.

IVAN.

To the Editor



"BRAVE NEW WORLD"

I recently read one of your *SOCIALIST STANDARDS* with interest, and can to a large extent sympathise with your criticisms and even ideals, but I cannot accept your deductions and methods. If man was a completely rational and perfect social animal your plans might work, and society could indeed be run in the ways suggested, but Socialism omits the fact that man is an individual, with a free will of his own and bad qualities as well as good ones. Many, indeed most, of the working classes would behave in exactly the same way as the "capitalist exploiters" if they had the chance to take power themselves. The failing of all ideologies, whether of Marx, Hegel or anyone else, is that they fail to take account of man's "spirit": he will not be regimented, treated like a machine, or tied down by laws, however beneficial to himself! Thus Socialism, unless you can change human nature, would be abused and turned into an inverted capitalism, just as the Russians failed with Marxism.

Another important point would seem to be the question of progress. All of mankind's material advances are the result of competition between companies to produce a better or cheaper product, or alternatively, are a result of international conflict. In short, without a profit motive, where does the incentive come from? I am convinced that a Socialist and propertyless society

would stagnate.

In conclusion, I cannot for one moment contemplate a system being accepted which is irrevocable such as yours is. Unless the population have the right and opportunity to remove the government there is merely tyranny.

I feel that a Socialist must indeed be prepared for a "Brave New World."

IAN VINE.

Bristol Young Liberal Association.

REPLY

Mr. Vine should ask himself how it is that, if man "... will not be regimented, treated like a machine, or tied down by laws ..." he submits so meekly to this sort of treatment under capitalism. It is difficult to imagine what more in the way of regimentation we could have suffered in the last war; yet the working class accepted it as part of the war effort, which they supported. In the same way, they accept the uniformity of peacetime capitalism. This is not because they lack individuality; they simply cannot afford to do anything else. Their wage packet forces them to live in a working class house, which is pretty much the same as the others around, to wear the same inferior clothes and to eat the same substandard food as their fellow workers. But if man were as individualistic as Mr. Vine supposes, why does he not rebel against such conditions?

In fact, men have always broadly conformed to the relationships of their social system—very few of them are sufficiently individualistic to opt out of society. Thus man will conform to the social requirements of Socialism, without needing to be "... a completely rational and perfect social animal. ..." Nobody should pretend that man is such an animal; but he is rational enough to organise and maintain

human society and to change it to suit his needs. That is as much as he can expect of himself, and it is enough to establish Socialism and to keep it running smoothly.

There may be examples of better and cheaper goods being produced as a result of economic competition. There are also examples of better and cheaper goods being deliberately suppressed, of badly needed food being destroyed, of harmful and shoddy goods being produced—all in the name of competition. International conflict may give something of a boost to, say, some branches of medical research. But it gives an even greater boost to the development of weapons. Socialism will replace the anti-social spurs of capitalism with the incentive which is based upon the simple fact that the people of the world will own the world. Then man's ingenuity and energy will have complete freedom, because they will be working for the good of society, instead of for the profit of a minority.

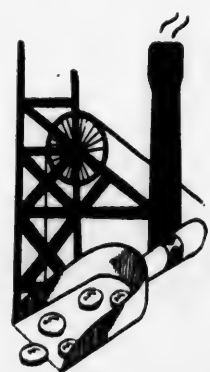
Contrary to our correspondent's view, this was never an issue in Russia because, as we pointed out at the time, the conditions were not ripe for it. All that happened in 1917, in fact, was that a country with a backward, semi-feudal system was enabled to develop itself into fully-fledged capitalist State.

Socialism is nothing unless it is a democratically controlled system. The fact that it will be a classless system means that it will not have any political parties (including the Socialist Party of Great Britain) to represent class interests, and no government to act as the coercive agent of a ruling class. But that is not to say that Socialism will be irrevocable—eternal, in fact. If, when it is established there were to develop enough faults in it to convince Society of a need to abolish it, there would be nothing to stop them doing so.

But we hardly think this is likely.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

FINANCE



INDUSTRY

REPORT ON PIECEWORK

THE *Labour Gazette* for September contained the latest report by the Ministry of Labour on the extent to which piecework and other payment-by-results systems are operated in different industries. The advantages to the employer of having workers who, to earn more, speed up their own output without the employer having to bear the cost of supervising them, are obvious, yet payment-by-results systems have never become predominant in industry as a whole in this country; partly because trade unions resisted, but mainly because some work processes are not suitable for practicable payment-by-results systems.

What the Report shows is that while 42% of workers in manufacturing industry are paid by results, 58% are on systems of payment which do not vary the amount of pay according to the output of individuals or groups of workers. Generally speaking, piece-work, etc., is much less common in the non-manufacturing industries; in the gas, water and electricity group, for example, only 2% of workers are on piece-work. It is more common among women and girls than among men.

The manufacturing industries are divided into fourteen industrial groups. Among them the two groups with most piece-work, etc., are iron and steel, and shipbuilding (65% and 59%); and the two with least piecework, etc., chemicals (21%) and paper, printing and publishing (19%).

Bevan on piecework

THE SECOND WORLD WAR gave a big impetus to piecework among men. In all the industries covered by the Report (manufacturing and non-manufacturing) only 18% of men were on payment-by-results systems in 1938, but after the war

it was 24% and it is now 30%. Among women workers it has fallen slightly, from 46% in 1938 to 44%, but among girls under age 18 it has increased from 27% to 44%.

The ratio among boys of 1 in 5 has remained about unchanged.

When the late Aneurin Bevan was Minister of Labour in 1951 it fell to him to sponsor the Government's campaign to increase production by going over to piecework and similar schemes, and the Ministry published its pamphlet *Wage Incentive Schemes* to encourage the idea. One of the reasons given by the Ministry for needing increased production was to help the Labour government's rearmament programme. "The need for reduced costs of production and increased output has become even more urgent in face of the unavoidable diversion of a substantial portion of the labour force to the carrying out of the government's defence programme."

Bevan had read some of Marx's works and it is unlikely that he had not come across Marx's derisive remarks about "a fair day's pay," (not to mention his denunciations of piece-work), but the Ministry's pamphlet contained in the Foreword:—"A fair day's work for a fair day's pay remains the soundest basis for relationship between employers and workers. . . ."

Impact of Automation

THE INCREASE OF PAYMENT-BY-RESULTS in recent years goes against some forecasts that it would decline because of the development of automation. The expectation that it would decline was based on the proposition that the employer has no use for a payment system designed to speed up the worker or group of workers,

if this is looked after by the technique of production. A rather different view was taken by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in their booklet *Automation* (1956, page 78). They thought that payment-by-results would take different forms.

Payment by piece-rates, based on the output of individual workers, rarely suits work on automatic processes. The rate of output will be decided by managements on technical grounds, and it will be controlled by technicians rather than operatives. Moreover, the contribution of one operative can rarely be isolated from the contribution of others, so payment will tend to reflect the performance of a team or factory rather than that of any individual; and it may be based on criteria other than output, for example, machine-utilization. (Page 78.)

A speaker at a recent conference on automation, Mr. J. Jones, Birmingham regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, pointed out that the old incentive schemes to encourage the individual to increase output have no place because "with automation a worker no longer had control of output" (*Financial Times*, 29/6/61). But he went on to say that in the engineering industry some managements have tried to adapt old systems of payment-by-results to the new conditions, apparently not at all successfully.

Russia's Oil Market

THE OIL COMPANIES OF THE WEST have for many months been facing a determined drive by Russia to enter their markets with oil at undercutting prices. Russian oil production has jumped from 80 million tons in 1955 to over 120 million, and is expected to double by 1965, so the threat is not a trivial one. Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that Russian production is still only half that in U.S.A. and her oil exports have to be multiplied many times before they reach the level of the nineteen thirties when Russian oil accounted for about one-eighth of the Western markets.

Back in 1934 Stalin was asked about Russian oil exports, by a visiting delegation of workers from various European and other countries. They wanted to know how Russia could sell so cheaply and were offered the explanation that Russian oil (and wheat) were cheaper because Russian industry "does not require super-profits." He also told them that Russian policy of cheap export "reduces prices and improves thereby the position of the masses of consumers."

Among the eighty visitors there must

have been some who had seen in their homelands how little falling prices ever benefited the workers, since the employers naturally took advantage of it to press down wages, and in those times of heavy unemployment, with complete success.

However, rumours, so far not confirmed, have been floating around that there is a possibility of the Russian government now doing a deal with the oil companies to cut out undercutting, and to divide up the market.

A writer in the *Daily Telegraph* (19/9/61) alleges that because the Russian government sometimes uses cheap oil exports to further political ends they have been selling their oil more cheaply in Italy and West Germany than to their own allies, Eastern Germany and Poland.

Our "prosperity"

IN ITS ISSUE OF SEPTEMBER 16, the *Daily Express* had one of its cheery little editorials informing readers about the "growing prosperity of the ordinary men and women of Britain." It claimed, on the strength of the government booklet on National Income, that "in 10 years their income has almost doubled. Allowing for the rise in the cost of living, they are still more than 50% better off."

Seemingly, arithmetic is not a strong point at the *Express* office, because while the national income in money terms actually has nearly doubled in 10 years the adjustment for the rise of prices reduces this, not to 50%, but to about half that amount, making an average annual increase of about 2½% a year. Even that exaggerates the increase because in those ten years the population has risen by two million.

Russian Industry

MANY OF THOSE who have studied the expansion of Russian industry have remarked on the fact that while some industries have jumped ahead both in size and the use of modern methods, others have lagged far behind the development in other countries.

An example of this is Russia's backwardness in telephone development. The latest figures show Russia as having four million telephones, compared with about eight million in Britain, 70 million in U.S.A. and nearly five million in Japan. Related to population Russia shows 1.91 per 100 of the population; Britain 15.03; U.S.A. 39.52 and Japan 5.21.

H.



November 1911

THE GENERAL STRIKE

While we strongly sympathise with all real struggles against the employers' attacks, we never cease to urge upon the workers the need for class-consciousness for ending this system of society altogether, by political control.

The General Strike as a means of emancipation must surely fail, for the working class are propertyless, and if they cease work even the "short commons" that "work" means, cease too. Starvation stares them in the face. All acquainted with proletarian life know the terrible privation that strikes entail; the suffering writ large on the faces of the helpless babes, the toddling children and the struggling wives. Such agonising scenes as were

to be witnessed on the hillsides and in the valleys of South Wales during the year-long Cambrian Strike. The stripped homes; the cramped pawnshops; the rising mortality: these remind us that strikes strike the workers as well as the masters. This is but a sectional strike; a strike with those at work helping those who are out. But when all the workers strike even that help fails, for they are all in the same boat. . . .

True, a general strike can paralyse industry. A prolonged General Strike can destroy society. For we depend upon continual production, and cessation means death. But death snatches its first victims from the toilers: they are most vulnerable—they have no stores, no reserves. Our masters have

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD November 1911

THE PASSING SHOW

Our People

The Government's recent call to employers to reject any application for wage increases—at a time when inflation has been continuing for twenty-one years—was not, it now appears, an attack on wages. It was, in fact, a "defence of wages." For Selwyn Lloyd made this clear in a recent speech to those well-known wage-defenders, the bankers and merchants of the City of London, at a banquet in the Mansion House. He said:

Whatever is said to the contrary in the heat of the moment, I believe that the commonsense of our people will assert itself and they will acknowledge I am right.

(One passing thought: do our rulers realise how much they irritate the rest of us by calling us "their people"?)

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd could hardly have expected his audience to believe him. As members of the owning class, they knew that all members of that class must constantly strive to cut their costs to the

lowest possible: and one of the most important of their costs is wages. Since their competitors, both here and abroad, are always trying to restrict wage-costs, either by reducing wages or by holding back their increase as much as possible, any capitalist who did not watch this aspect very closely would soon be out of business. Either his shareholders would withdraw their money from his business, or he would go bankrupt. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has simply tried to help the employers in this process by telling the workers that "the country's well-being" depends on a "wage-pause."

Mr. Lloyd should take care, next time he addresses an upper class audience, not to speak too persuasively. For if the ruling class did believe he was "defending wages" (that is, from their point of view, keeping up costs) he would not last long as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A good way to die

The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury called recently for the

abolition of capital punishment, or at least for its complete suspension for a period of five years. The rural dean of Dulwich, however, kept up the good old tradition of those bishops and prominent churchmen who for centuries have supported the most barbarous of punishments against those who broke the law.

Hanging, the rural dean said, might be "theologically and intellectually, rather a good way to die." He went on:

Why should the Christian say it is such a terrible thing to end someone's life? We do not believe death is the end. Intellectually, is it so frightful to know, in full possession of your faculties, that you are going to meet your Maker in a certain definite time? I cannot see that, from a Christian point of view, it is so frightful.

When one thinks of the millions of men killed in wars supported (on both sides) by Christian churches, it is not very surprising that the rural dean should seek to defend the "ending of someone's life" by the state apparatus. But, of course, the rural dean's remarks are for export only. He claims it isn't

so frightful to be told you are going to have your neck broken "in a certain definite time"; but he appears to have taken no steps to embrace such a fate himself.

Convicted

Russia, the country which claims to be Socialist and still has property and all the institutions of property society, has again gladdened the hearts of anti-Socialist propagandists by sentencing two men to death and jailing several others for thefts of "public property." There is, of course, no such thing as "public property" in a private property society. There is property which belongs to members of the ruling class individually, and property which is usually managed by state or "public" boards, which act on behalf of the whole owning class. If this property was really public, or in common ownership, then it would belong equally to everyone, which is another way of saying it would belong to no one. To steal it would be impossible. So that when Russia holds trials for the "theft" of "public property," it is really the system itself which is put on trial. And convicted.

Affluence

After the vague talk about "the affluent society" come the actual figures, produced by the state machine itself. According to *National Income and Expenditure*, 1961, published recently, these were the figures of national income:

In 1960, 10,900,000 people (counting husband and wife as one person), 41 per cent of the total, were receiving less than £500 per annum before payment of tax; 45 per cent between £500 and £1,000; 12 per cent from £1,000 to £2,000; and 2 per cent more than £2,000. After tax the corresponding percentages were 44; 46; 9; and 1.

In other words, after tax 44 per cent get less than £10 a week, and 90 per cent less than £20 a week. And this, remember, is counting the wife's income in with her husband's. In the small minority of homes where there is an income coming in besides those of the father and mother, the standard will be correspondingly higher; but in the great majority of homes, the standards are indicated clearly enough by these figures. And anyone who thinks they amount to "affluence" for the ninety per cent., for the workers, should try bringing up a family at today's inflated prices on anything under £20 per week.

ALWYN EDGAR.

RELIGION

Chasing Shadows

SINCE MAN'S EARLIEST DAYS, he has looked for an explanation of the things he cannot understand. Not knowing why the sun rises and sets, why the weather changes or why blights and sickness occur, savage man created for himself gods to worship, placate and fear; gods who controlled the things he could not understand. With the advancement of knowledge, man's ideas of the supernatural have changed constantly.

In the present day, when so much of the mystery has been explained and the world is no longer regarded as flat with heaven above and hell below, religion in "civilised" countries has subtly changed its role. In the mid. 20th century it has ceased to be the explanation of the unknown and has become instead the comforter. When the problems and insecurities of present-day life become overwhelming, it is soothing to put all one's problems before an Almighty Being who, in infinite wisdom, will either solve our problems and relieve us of our troubles, or decide that we should bear them to prove our faith and devotion and build up credits in an after-life. How much easier it is to do this than to battle with the situations and attempt to solve the problems.

The thought that death is inevitable and final is an unpalatable one, especially at times when things go badly or dangerously. The belief that this life is only a preparation for the hereafter makes it easier to bear frustrations and less fearsome to think of death. To this can be attributed the fact that every war brings with it a religious revival.

Even the troubles and uncertainties of "normal" life are easier to bear if one can believe that "the meek shall inherit the earth," and this is well known and exploited by those in authority today. In wartime God's help and protection in "Our Just Cause" is called for equally fervently by the leaders and churchmen of opposing sides. It must make it difficult for him to decide who has prayed the hardest and deserves to win. . . .

Christian churches have learnt to adapt themselves to modern life—not so much in the advice they give or the lessons they preach, but in the way this is done. Sales promotion and motivation research experts are engaged to determine the best ways of approaching the public; ministers are trained to look and speak

so as to inspire confidence. Neon signs and slogans appear on churches and Billy Graham type crusades make Sunday afternoon band performances by the Salvation Army look like very poor relations. Religion today is adapted to life in the mid. 20th century. To be saved, you must pray; but there is little time to spare for it. There are even believers in Texas who are not worried by this if they have a little money to spare. In this day of ready-mix foods and self-service stores, "Tolerants" of San Antonio offer them an excellent service in their PRAY-ER Organisation. For the price of one dollar, they will mechanically pray 10,000 prayers for any individual contributor.

Socialists do not believe in life after death; our thoughts are firmly fixed on a worthwhile future in this life. We therefore expend our energies in working to abolish Capitalism and establish Socialism which, although no "heaven on earth," will solve most of the problems besetting mankind today. It is the only safe and satisfying way of life of which we know. To achieve Socialism, the majority of men and women must understand it, want it and work for it. Unfortunately, unlike the PRAY-ER Organisation, we cannot offer to understand or work for it for them. The only assistance we can offer is what we are doing: explaining the system under which we live and showing how it is the cause of wars, periodic unemployment and the other insecurities we suffer today. We try to make them see that it is futile to use up energies to build up rewards in heaven while relying on an Almighty Being to solve their problems on earth.

E. C.

TRAFFIC JAMS

First things first

THERE IS NOTHING MORE that devoted, well-meaning people could have done. Over the years they have altered, added and improvised to try to meet the requirements of changing knowledge and needs. But as it stands now, the structure of this early Victorian hospital has outlived itself and what the place really needs is to be pulled down and rebuilt.

Surely, ask the very innocent, that would cost too much money—there isn't enough of it about, you know? And this is echoed by many an "economic expert" who would deny any claim to naïveté.

Not enough money about? Stick your head out of the ward window and watch the giant machines tearing into wet London clay and the skeleton of a fly-over taking shape before your eyes. Don't leave the window open too long, though—the drilling, bulldozing and blasting of the great new road development scheme must have a devastating effect on the poor patients. They did think about spending some more money on the scheme, to make it quieter and so easier on the patients' nerves. But in the end they decided that roads come first and sick human beings somewhere after that.

Perhaps many motorists agreed with this decision. Certainly, they grumble enough about the need for new roads and the amount of tax which goes into licences, petrol and so on. Yet they would be wrong to think that the flyovers, underpasses, motorways and the rest are built for their especial benefit and enjoyment.

Let us begin somewhere at the beginning. Our society is based upon private property, which means that a few people own the means of life. This leaves a lot of people who are virtually propertyless, and who therefore have to work for the few owners. In this work they create a surplus which must be sold so that the capitalists can realise their profits. These profits are used by and at the discretion of the international, wealthy ruling class.

This set up raises some tricky problems for the capitalists. Traffic jams prevent profitable goods being moved efficiently; they even stop workers getting to work on time, which means that they might not turn out as much surplus as they should. So traffic jams, in the name of profit, must go.

Again, if motor cars are to be stuck forever in jams and queues, a lot of potential buyers may decide to use some other form of transport. The motor car market is already none too healthy; if there was a developing hardness against the industry's sales jargon there would soon be panic stations in the plushy showrooms. So would there be in the *al fresco* salons on old bomb sites, where many workers obtain their latest model.

And what about that other great commercial group which has motoring interests clutched to its bosom? What of the oil companies? We all know that the noxious, smelly fluid can overnight turn a flyblown, sandy waste into a world danger spot. It has lined the pockets of shareholders all over the world, and enabled a handful of Eastern potentates to count their wealth in Cadillacs instead of the traditional camels. No need to point out that the oil boys think an effi-

cient road system, with lots of cars using it, is very important.

These are the reasons why the excavators scrunch outside the hospital walls, and why ordinary, decent people think it right to put motor cars higher up the scale of values than sick and ailing human beings.

For sick workers contribute little, or nothing, to the profitability of capitalism. They are, in fact, an expense, which is covered by taxes on property, the National Insurance levy and philanthropy.

Capitalism can be attacked coldly, with fact and arguments on economics, history and the rest. This does not mean that we do not see through the cloying mess of moral standards and human values which capitalism foists on us. It is useless merely to try to be humane; for many an uphill struggle to implement a reform has been followed by capitalism's unhappy knack of encroaching upon the reform, when it clashed with some sectional economic interest.

No, we need a bigger change than that. Something to make human beings free and secure. We'll have roads under Socialism, and we will have sick people too. But both of them will be in their place.

JACK LAW

GHANA

Was it worth it?

The following letter has been received from a sympathiser and we think it will be of interest to our readers.

On September 4 dockworkers and railwaymen at Takoradi and Kumasi in Ghana went on strike against a deliberate attempt by the government to decrease the workers' share of what they produce. The austerity budget introduced in July provided for measures which would lead to an all-round rise in prices. In addition a compulsory savings scheme was introduced and a wage freeze announced.

The strikers were told that they didn't really want to strike but that they were being forced to; if anyone wished to return to work the government would gladly provide protection. Very few workers took up this offer and President Nkrumah from a holiday resort on the Black Sea coast of Russia ordered his Ministers at home to get tough with the strikers. All those who refused to return

Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

to work were threatened with dismissal and troops were moved into Takoradi. The strike was, of course, unofficial since the leadership of the trade unions supports Nkrumah. The general secretary of the T.U.C. hurried back from the neutral's conference in Belgrade, quickly got to know the facts and did not hesitate to call the strike a "counter-revolution" and to denounce it as illegal.

This is not the first time that Ghanaian workers have protested. Last year they were demanding wage increases. The opposition newspaper *Ashanti Pioneer* supported these demands and in September the legal daily minimum wage for unskilled workers was raised from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. The austerity budget will make the workers worse off than they were before September last. Not surprisingly, then, they have gone on strike. The reasons given for last year's trouble are interesting:

T.U.C. spokesmen blamed the workers' dissatisfaction on the remnants of a capitalist, imperialist, colonialist system which still darkened the economic and social horizon. The minority and the *Ashanti Pioneer*, felt that the workers were dissatisfied because they saw top trade union officials and Government Ministers becoming wealthier while the workers suffered. (*Observer*, 28/8/60.)

For daring to make such observations on the development of capitalism in Ghana and for supporting the demands for wage increases the *Ashanti Pioneer* found that in future it would be subject to censorship. The Ghana T.U.C. spokesmen are right in attributing the cause of the trouble to Capitalism. But it is not the remnants but the beginning of Capitalism that is responsible. Ghana is just entering a period of capitalist development despite all the talk about "Ghana's way to Socialism." As Capitalism develops and more workers are needed to operate the new machinery the tribes are broken up; simultaneously classes begin to appear among the urban inhabitants. Already Ghana has a wealthy upper class:

Ghana's first gambling casino will open shortly—but only for foreigners and certain classes of wealthy Ghanians. A company set up to run the casino announced today that in conformity with casino licensing laws passed last year, Ghanians will not be admitted to membership unless they have a yearly income of more than £1,500 and are not members of the armed forces, judiciary, police force or public service departments. (*Guardian*, 9/6/60.)

Very few workers in this country, let alone Ghana, get £1,500 a year. As it is,

with the legal minimum wage at 6s. 6d. a day these Ghanaian capitalists get about ten times as much a year as an ordinary worker.

Little wonder, then, that the workers are beginning to feel that perhaps they have no interests in common with all classes of wealthy Ghanians including the Nkrumah ruling clique. Many must be asking themselves as they survey the part they played in the struggle for independence: "Was it worth it?" Socialists have said all along that national independence movements merely end in the setting up of capitalist nation states and are therefore not worth supporting. The leaders of nationalist parties once in power are faced with the harsh realities of running and expanding Capitalism in their countries; and Capitalism can never be made to run in the interests of the workers. If we look outside Ghana we see the same sort of thing happening: men like Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika with more regard for democracy than Nkrumah have been forced to act against the workers in their countries, as the following report from Tanganyika shows:

Relations between Mr. Nyerere, Tanganyika's Chief Minister, and the territories' trade union leaders are sharpening. The strike at the Williamson diamond mine which Mr. Nyerere firmly ended after 12 days, brought this division into the public eye. After Tanganyika obtained an elected majority in the legislative council in September, trade unionists expected quick action to improve wage levels. But Mr. Nyerere has to be pushed into rash promises or actions. Working closely with Sir Arthur Vasey, his Finance Minister, he is endeavouring to maintain the climate of quiet confidence for foreign investment. (*Daily Telegraph*, 29/12/60.)

Dr. Banda, after his sweeping victory in the Nyasaland elections, seems to be planning similar actions to those of Nkrumah. The *Sunday Express* (17/9/61) reports that Suzgo Msiska, leader of one of the two rival trade union congresses in Nyasaland "has lost a great deal of prestige in the eyes of Banda and his colleagues. No sooner had Malawi emerged victorious at the polls than Msiska brought 800 workers out on strike for more pay. Now Banda urges: 'Msiska must go.'"

In the Congo politicians like Lumumba were elected to power on promises of wage increases which the workers didn't get. So they went on strike. At first Lumumba called out troops against them but eventually gave in and granted the wage increases, but not before he had devalued the Congolese franc. So that the workers merely received an increase in money wages.

The plain fact of the matter is that independence merely brings a change of masters for the workers—and their new masters are more often than not their former leaders. Socialists see no reason why they should help such men to power. Even the elementary democratic rights of "one man, one vote" and freedom of political activity that independence may bring are not secure as in events in Ghana in particular show. To those Ghanaian and other workers who ask if the struggle for independence was worth it, Socialists reply that it was not. We do not, of course, expect colonial workers to suffer colonisation for ever. We are just pointing out that independence is not the solution to their problems. Indeed, in many cases it is just the beginning. Socialism is the only solution to the problems of the workers throughout the world.

A. L. B.

Newport, Mon.

BOOKS

Colonialism

The Twilight of European Colonialism
By Stewart C. Easton. Methuen, 50s.

WHEN THE SECOND WORLD WAR started, there were about 700 million people living under colonial rule. Twenty years later there were not many more than 100 million; most notably, the number under British rule had been virtually cut in half.

It was to all intents and purposes inevitable that the colonies should have developed their nationalist organisations, to demand that a native ruling class should have the right to exploit their country's mineral wealth and human labour. In the Congo, this desire has bred nationalism within nationalism, with the Katangese wanting to be left alone with the immense riches that are under their feet.

Apart from such complications, and unless a colony has a settler population—as in Central Africa—or unless there is a military problem involved—as in Cyprus—the road to independence is usually fairly smooth. Ghana is the classic example of this; and it has had its effect all over Africa.

When independence has been agreed to, there is a lot of political work to be done. A constitution must be drafted, political parties must work out their programmes for the new state, elections must be arranged. This, and the political events which have preceded independence, make the subject matter of Mr.

Easton's book.

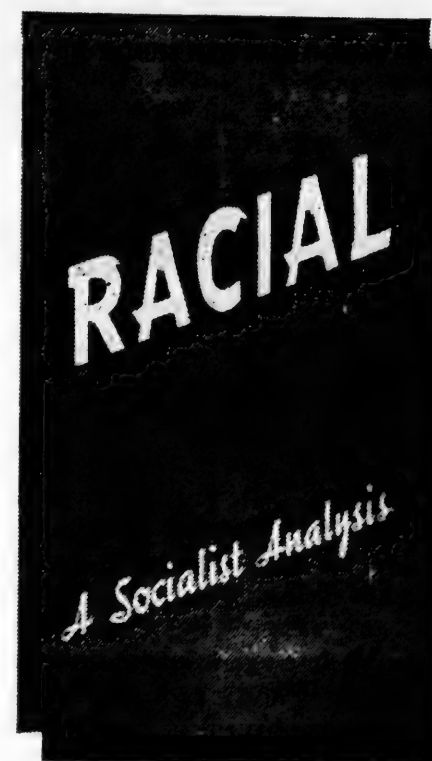
It is obvious that such a work will leave a lot unsaid. The author knows what the suppression of the African native has meant, and what it must lead to. The African's dignity, he says, "... was constantly insulted"; he was regarded as "... a menace to the most uncomely white woman ...". And now, such is the tradition of bitterness that it is too late to make amends.

On the other hand, Mr. Easton has a trick of playing down the savage history of colonialism. He almost whitewashes Leopold II. The black story of the missionaries is summarised: "Inspired by Livingstone's exploits, thousands of missionaries entered the field, and traders followed soon after." A simple soul would think it was all one big coincidence.

We should be able to take all this in our stride. There is need for a political reference book to supplement the economic studies of the colonies, and the blood-chilling works of men like E. D. Morel. Political developments have their place in history, and we should all be familiar with them. For this Mr. Easton, in his agreeably smooth and economical style, has produced a very adequate book.

IVAN

Read



★ QUESTIONS OF THE
DAY (1/3 post paid)

THOUGHTS ON THINKING

A few years ago a series of articles appeared in the Western Socialist dealing with the theoretical basis of Socialism. These were clearly written, and readers found them interesting and informative. It is our intention to publish extracts from time to time, as space permits, for the benefit of readers who missed them when they first appeared.

ALL MARINE ENGINES, from Fulton's *Clermont* to the giant turbines of the *Normandie*, are based on a few fundamental mechanical principles of thermodynamics, energy coefficients, reciprocal motion, and the like. These principles at least must be understood by anyone who intends to run a steam ship. And the vast intellectual machinery of modern socialism is too based on a few relatively simple principles. Principles of thought, interpretation and action. And in order to become a Socialist these principles must be grasped, understood and applied. And all this to what purpose? Merely for the satisfaction of *knowing* in a general sort of way? We think not! Marx has said: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." Our philosophy is more than expository and interpretative—it is *dynamic*; it deals with a real world, and is itself a potent force for change.

Have you ever listened to an argument between a Socialist and a non-Socialist? If so, the most remarkable thing you will have noticed is the degree of disagreement in the meanings they attach to the terms employed. The Socialist might assert, for example, that we are Materialists, not Idealists. Right away a protest of disapproval is voiced. Why? Nine times out of ten because the non-Socialist has an entirely erroneous conception of the meanings of these terms. Or the Socialist might say that we intend to abolish capital. This seems to his opponent like utter nonsense. Why? Because he looks upon capital as a *thing*, whereas the socialist regards capital as a *condition* of a thing. "Who will pay the workers his wages under Socialism?" the opponent demands to know. "We intend to abolish the wages system," is his answer. This reply only confirms the questioner in his suspicion that all Socialists are hopeless mental cases. When he asks this he has in mind a conception of "wages" as the unconditioned reward for labour. The Socialist regards the "wage system" as an historically determined relationship

between labour and capital, a transitory phase in social development.

Arguments such as these may go on interminably with relatively little change of view for either party. Both sides are, in a way, right; the substantive difference between their mental states is seldom as wide as it appears. The clashes are essentially verbal and the viewpoints irreconcilable so long as each puts a distinctly different interpretation on the terms used. Our Socialist contender must first realize that there is scarcely an important word used by him that is not tinged in meaning by our economic theories or by its scientific or philosophical significance. The non-Socialist on the other hand almost invariably reacts to the same set of terms by their colloquial or every-day sense. Confronted with this barrier of language there can never be a meeting of the minds.

So the first step necessary towards an understanding of Marxian Socialism is a clear comprehension of the terms involved. The beginner must not only enlarge his vocabulary to accommodate new ideas but must make many of the old words with which he is familiar take on new shades of meaning, and in many instances entirely different from commonly accepted usage.

While reading this the question may be shaping in your head—"why do Socialists find it necessary to fashion a philosophy of their own, and why should proletarian logic differ from the currently accepted forms?" This is a reasonable query, and briefly, here is the answer: Socialists proceed on the incontestably established fact that society has for many thousands of years been divided into economically distinct classes. And now, on this one point, it is well to settle what we mean, and also what we *don't* mean by the expression "economic classes." The science of economics, as you are doubtless aware, deals with the social process of producing and distributing wealth. In a Capitalist society, based as it is on the private ownership of property, a fierce contest is at all times raging for each member of society to annex as much

of this wealth as possible. But by the very nature of the game it calls into existence two mutually opposing classes. Both, while *Capitalism lasts*, necessary to each other, yet diametrically opposed in interests. Gravitated at one pole are those who, by the rules of the game, sanctioned by the Law, Church, Tradition and Custom, have acquired possession of the machinery of wealth production, and by means of this ownership exact tribute from the rest of society. These persons, although at war among themselves, are knit into a cohesive unit in a common resolve that the rules governing the private nature of property shall not be changed. But by their similarity of economic interests they form a category which we variously call the Capitalist, master, ruling or dominant class.

The opposing economic pole is composed of those who, by the very nature of the game, are excluded from participation in the ownership of the means of wealth production. Capitalism can only be Capitalism where this sharp cleavage exists. These compose that heterogeneous mass known as the proletariat (from the Latin, meaning children of the soil), wage-slaves or working class. They are the overwhelming majority in modern society and are doomed by an ineluctable law of Capitalistic development to be swamped in the mire of poverty and whipped by the scourge of necessity to offer their only possession—their power to labour—to the owners of creation. How well Marx describes this "free" transaction: "the possessor of labour-power follows as his (the Capitalist's) labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—a hiding."

This brief synopsis should give you a fair understanding of economic class distinction. Do not confuse it with social, cultural, political or educational differences. These latter may be, and often are, explicable on the basis of different economic levels; but they are effects only, reflections of the actual parts men and classes play in the scheme of the economic system. The wealth of society is represented as a vast accumulation of commodities, and an incessant struggle obtains between the two class divisions over the share each shall possess. On the economic field this conflict is known as the class struggle. But we live in a political society in which the diverse economic groups strive to achieve their ambitions through the control of the state power. This contest for political supremacy is the ground on which is fought the battle for economic mastery.

Whichever group succeeds in capturing the state imposes its economic will on the rest of society. Now the strongest economic class today is the Capitalist. They dictate the policies of state and directly control the functions of the state, i.e., the police, judiciary, armed forces, primary education, etc., and indirectly, by reason of wealth and influence, the prevailing ideology (this word means, roughly, reflected ideas from a system or social order) of the people. Writers, preachers, scientists, educators, philosophers, dance to the tune called by the Caesars of commerce and industry. The ruling class permits the dissemination only of those ideas which tend to perpetuate the existing order. This viewpoint is class biased and serves to vitiate the teachings of history, science and philosophy and bend them to the support of entrenched privilege.

And this interest, as we have shown, is contrary to the true interests of the working class. Consequently the enlightened, class-conscious element among them, the Socialist, must, to achieve its economic and political emancipation, correct the distortion in the world of ideas and supplant error and prejudice with true proletarian knowledge.

FROM HEGEL TO MARX

HEGEL WAS IN ADVANCE of his times by reason of the enormous historical sense that underlay his system. The current of his thought always proceeded in line with world development. But the process of world development was regarded as a test of the unfolding of the concept, that is, the Concept was the ultimate Reality and the uncoiling of physical events over time evidence of the logicalness of his postulated concept. Hegel regarded phenomenal change, i.e., manifestations of social and natural law, as the self-development of the Absolute Concept. Not his concept or that of any man, but a universal concept that existed independently of time and space—an all-embracing world-soul. The dialectic development in nature and history struggled along after the self-developing concept, which moved itself, how or why, nobody knew.

Now, if the universal concept be self-moving, governed by laws inscrutable, or no laws at all, and the process of natural change be but a reflection of the evolution of the cosmic concept, then what purports to be an explanation, being itself explained, is no explanation. How explain the known in terms of the unknown? How can history be logical if history but images a causeless, self-changing mind?

The only wisdom such a philosophy can impart is that whatever is in the world is in the world and that it changes because it does change. Four thousand years ago the chroniclers of Hebrew myths had explained as much—or as little—and in language simple and direct. The cosmology of Genesis, the gropings of primitive speculation, had said as much and left the rationale of the universe as enigmatic as before; and similarly the ponderous intellectual machinery of Hegel, milling the same metaphysical grist, could grind out no more logic than what was already in the world.

But the great value in Hegel's system was his sense of historical continuity. The principle of evolutionary progression pervaded his entire work, its content was historical and there was a real relationship between the thought process and the world. But the true relationship between the concept and the universe was inverted. It was standing on its head. If it could be turned upright on its feet the real content which everywhere entered the philosophy would be in alignment with the true sequence of causality. Before Marx could satisfactorily apply the dialectic he had to make his ideological reversal. Marx turned Hegel's system upside down, or rather, he turned what had heretofore been upside down right side up; and as Engels says, "We contemplated the concepts in our heads once more materialistically—as images of real things instead of regarding the real things as images of this or that stage of development of the absolute concept."

Marx applied the dialectic primarily to history and human society and showed that all problems, all knowledge and the purposes of all knowledge are always set in a concrete historical context. Here was discovered a guiding thread running through the mazes of the social process. By its guidance not only were the apparent anomalies and inconsistencies of the past reconciled and explained, but a course of action was suggested that would rid society of its major ills.

Nowhere in Marx is the dialectic expounded as a formal philosophical system. But the method is bone and sinew of his entire work and its detailed application is to be found in all of Marx's economic theories. It is practically applied in the materialistic conception of history and is woven warp and woof in the socialist theory of the state and the class struggle.

The essential idea in the dialectic as applied to society is this: it seeks the cause of social change within the social process itself and not in the realm of metaphysical abstraction.

Socialists do not claim that society is

an organic mechanism which can be entirely explained by one invariable rule. They admit the existence of relatively independent factors which effect the course of history in varying degrees. The influence of the exceptional intellect on the state of general culture, the inimical or benign influences of religious movements, the accidents of technological and scientific discovery, or the caprices of fashion—all are recognized as real, active subsidiary influences on the body social and politic. It may safely be admitted that many of the minor and some of the major turns in social and economic progress are unpredictable. The multiplicity of causes, the incalculable complexity of social reactions do not admit of strict scientific prediction. But again, the point to remember is—all the causes and all the effects operative within the body of society are to be explained in terms of nature and society itself. Or in other words nature and society generate the forces under which new forms and expressions arise. This explanation of social motivation completely eliminates the idealist's soul-concept.

Marx's method is realistic, materialistic; but it should not be reduced to a standardized mechanical formula by which alone to account for every possible variety of social phenomena.

A philosophy of social change must admit of empirical verifications of its theories, that is it should be submissible to proof; and the conditions under which change is possible must be indicated as at any given time. Furthermore, it must recognize the consciousness of human beings; that they actively participate in shaping the course of their own histories.

Dialectics provides a nexus between one culture and another. This is revealed in the development of social institutions: an antecedent condition exists—from it arises more or less appropriate social responses. But as the conditions become unstable the form of the institution either effects a change in the conditions or perpetuates itself as a new thing, the product of the altered conditions and its antecedent form. The new combination in turn giving rise to a continuous modification of conditions, reacting reciprocally on them and itself.

Marx refused to divide social experience into two mutually exclusive compartments and classify one, the external world, "cause," and the other, consciousness, "effect." On the contrary, he showed that social change resulted from the interactions of nature, society and human intelligence. That the conventionally accepted "effect," consciousness, was itself as much a cause as the laws of nature and society, and that vice

versa, the assigned causes were in turn effects.

Marx applied the dialectics of social change to all stages of development. For the first time in the history of human thought a law was discovered with which to explain local and universal social evolution. The gist of the dialectic—the merging and harmonizing of opposites into a new but different synthesis—may be reduced to a definitely stated law: From conditions arising outside of man's consciousness, the social and natural environment (thesis), there come/ into being certain human needs and corresponding purposes which act upon the possibilities of the given situation (antithesis), and therefrom arise purposive responses which resolve the possibilities into a new situation (synthesis). The process of change from situation to situation and social system to social system exhibits certain inevitable features; there is unity between both phases in that certain features of the old are preserved and carried over into the new; e.g., the technically developed processes of production and highly specialized division of labour under capitalism will be carried over into the new society, Socialism. Secondly, there is a difference in that certain features of the old do not appear in the new; e.g., the slave status of labour and private ownership of the means of social existence along with the coercive state will fall into desuetude under Socialism. Thirdly, the quality of novelty appears. New forms, activities and purposes arise out of the new combination; and these further change the meaning of whatever is retained of the old. The novelties are something more than a simple sum of the old plus the new: there is a reorientation of moods and purposes; e.g., the monarchy in feudal society was a bulwark for the landed aristocrats against the encroachments of serf, freeman and burgher; under capitalism it becomes a figure-head for commercial expansion and international salesmanship and more too, the deathless champion of "democratic liberties."

The process of social change, interchange and development goes on forever. The only law that never varies is the eternal, immutable law of change itself. And contrary to anti-Marxists who wilfully or ignorantly misrepresent Socialists as ignoring the factor of consciousness and human nature, Marx never wearied reiterating that the characteristic mark of social development, as opposed to biological or natural development, was the increasingly greater part played by human consciousness.

W. C. CURREY

PUBLIC MEETING
Sunday 26th November, 7.30 pm

MUST WORKERS STRIKE?

Speakers: H. Baldwin, J. Keys

Denison House,
Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.1

DEBATE

Wednesday 15th November, 7.30 pm

"The SPGB is the only Socialist Organisation in Britain?"

FOR: SPGB
AGAINST: "SOCIALIST CURRENT"

Bethnal Green Library, E.2
(facing Central Line Tube Station)

GLASGOW BRANCH LECTURES
(details see page 176)

Problems of the Sixties

A series of Lectures
every Sunday 7.30
from October 1st, 1961 to
April 29th, 1962

ST. ANDREWS HALL,
Berkeley Street, Room 2, Door G

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays
Hyde Park, 3 pm
East Street, Walworth
November 5th (1 pm)
November 12th and 26th (noon)
November 19th (11 am)
Clapham Common, 3 pm

Thursdays
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays
Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

PUBLIC MEETING

Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road Victoria, SW1

Sunday 26th November, 7.30 pm
MUST WORKERS STRIKE?

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Head Office, 53 Clapham High St., SW4
Mondays, 7.30 pm

November 6th

"ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE"

J. McGuinness

13th November

TECHNIQUE FOR TOMORROW

20th November

SHADOW OVER THE WORLD

Speaker: R. Rose

27th November

DISPUTE

Speaker: F. Simpkins

4th December

THE LONGHOUSE PEOPLE

The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.

PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1
Wednesday at 9 pm

8th November

"MY AMERICAN VISIT"

Speaker: Gilmac

15th November

"TRADE UNIONS TODAY"

Speaker: J. Edmonds

22nd November

"ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAYS"

Speaker: J. Law

29th November

"CAN WE IGNORE THE STATE MACHINE?"

Speaker: Michael

WEMBLEY LECTURE

Barham Old Court, Barham Park (near Sudbury Town Station) Harrow Road

Monday 13th November, 8 pm

CRISES

Speaker: E. Hardy

Monday 27th November, 8 pm

RECENT SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Speaker: H. Young

Branch News



The Delegate Meeting held at Head Office on Saturday and Sunday, October 7th and 8th, was well attended and proved to be one of the most interesting for some time. The keynote of the discussion was that comrades were anxious to get on with the work of the Party and used the time in discussing how best to serve the Party's aims. Many interesting ideas were exchanged and there is no doubt that comrades left the meeting with renewed enthusiasm to make even greater efforts to spread the word of Socialism.

We are awaiting the full report of the sales of literature at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference. Our energetic and resourceful new Literature Sales Committee hired a caravan and sped up to Blackpool, where they bombarded the delegation there with literature of the Socialist case. The Committee made these arrangements quickly and efficiently and obtained the E.C.'s blessing while the work was actually in progress. This Committee is doing excellent work, attending rallies and meetings of other political organisations, apart from seeing that our own meetings are well supplied with literature with well organised sales. They were in force at the Caxton Hall Meeting on October 18th. Details of sales will be given in our next issue, together with the Blackpool report.

Glasgow Branch series of meetings have got off to a good start. These meetings will carry on throughout the winter, and Glaswegians should hasten to get in at the start and so benefit from the continuity of the series dealing with the *Sixties*.

General propaganda meetings! Many branches have a full programme for the winter. Head Office films are being well attended and debates have been arranged. The meetings list in every issue should be one of the first items for perusal, so that members can tell friends and sympathisers in plenty of time.

Ealing Branch's programme of winter activities really gets under way this month with two lectures, one general and the other theoretical, as well as a film showing. The new meeting room (but the same building) is much more comfortable than the old and is a first-rate place for these activities. Members are asked to make a special effort to be prompt and to note especially the time of the film show (7.45 pm) made necessary because the film lasts almost an hour-and-a-half. The Branch is doing very well. Two new members have been made in recent months as well as several other contacts. Branch members are looking forward to a really successful winter season. ○

P.H.

GLASGOW MEETINGS

St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street, Room 2, Door G

Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt throughout the winter, until April 29th, 1962

IN BRITAIN TODAY

5th November

"WHO OWNS BRITAIN?"

Speaker: A. Shaw

12th November

"THE BLACKBOARD JUNGLE"

Speaker: R. Donnelly

19th November

"OF WILDCATS AND WAGES"

Speaker: R. Reid

26th November

"EUROPEAN BRITAIN OR BRITISH EUROPE?"

Speaker: R. Russell

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE

3rd December

LABOUR PARTY AT THE CROSS ROADS

10th December

WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY FAILS

17th December

A LIBERAL REVIVAL?

24th December

WHERE THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY STANDS**EALING LECTURE**

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing Broadway

Friday, 3rd November, 8 pm

"MODERN ISRAEL"

Speaker: Jon Keys

Friday 17th November, 7.45 pm

FILM: THE GERMAN STORY

Speaker: H. Weaver

Friday 24th November, 8 pm

MARXIAN ECONOMIC THEORIES

Speaker: S. Goldstein

Please note that as "The German Story" is a full length film the showing will begin at 7.45 pm prompt.

DEBATE WITH "SOCIALIST CURRENT"

Bethnal Green Library, Cambridge Heath Road,

Wednesday 15th November, 7.30 pm

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

SOCIALIST STANDARD

SIXPENCE

Official Journal of
the Socialist Party of Great Britain

December 1961

SCENE: MOSCOW MARCH 1953 The eight most powerful men in Russia stand guard beside the body of their late chief — Stalin.

Dramatis Personæ

Left to right	Status December 1961
MOLOTOV	Ex Foreign Minister (in disgrace)
VOROSHILOV	Ex President (in disgrace)
BERIA	Late Minister of Interior (shot as traitor)
MALENKOV	Ex Prime Minister (in disgrace)
THE CORPSE	The God who fell
BULGANIN	Ex Prime Minister (in disgrace)
KHRUSCHEV	Prime Minister (future?)
KAGANOVITCH	Ex Vice-President (in disgrace)
MIKOYAN	Deputy Prime Minister (future?)

STALIN



THE GOD WHO FELL

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- 186 The Spanish Civil War
- 184 Against Monopoly
- 188 The Levellers
- 182 Is this Progress?

FROM THE SOCIALIST STANDARD APRIL 1953

Maintenance of power at any price became for the Communist Party a matter of life and death. On a chequer board of political tactics the Old Bolshevik moved, mated and slayed, until the assumption of power rested in one man — Stalin. It was Stalin who completed the work begun by Lenin, the turning of Marxism a revolutionary doctrine into its opposite, an authoritarian ideology of state capitalism on a par and at times competing with other state ideologies, i.e. Hitler's National "Socialism" and Mussolini's Corporate State.

Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

BIRMINGHAM Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY 1st and 3rd Thursdays (7th & 21st Dec) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL Wednesdays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 26 Trafalgar Road, SW2.

DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, Dec 8th, at 7 Cyril Road, Buxley Heath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Dec 22nd at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

EALING Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

ECCLES 2nd Monday (Dec 11th) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

GLASGOW Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

HACKNEY Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

ISLINGTON Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON upon THAMES Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

Groups

BRISTOL Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

COVENTRY 1st and 3rd Mondays (3rd & 17th Dec) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Cra- en Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

DORKING & DISTRICT Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

EARLS COURT & DISTRICT Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13, Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

MANCHESTER Enquiries: J. M. Breakay, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.

LEWISHAM Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

NOTTINGHAM Alternate Wednesdays (6th & 20th December) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

PADDINGTON Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St, near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX 2nd Monday in month (11th Dec) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (25th Dec) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

SWANSEA 1st and 3rd Monday (4th & 18th Dec) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls, Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

WEMBLEY Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W13.

WEST HAM 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th & 28th Dec) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road School, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Linderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

WOOLWICH 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th & 22nd Dec) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT Thursday 21st Dec 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAJ 5165.

REDHILL Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The
**WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid



IN THIS ISSUE

180 News in Review

Rising Prices
Strike at Margam
Fifty Megatons
After the Motor Show
And Abroad
U.S. and Common Market

181 CND and SPGB

182 Is this progress?

183 Trust breaking in America

184 Against Monopoly

185 The Passing Show

186 The Spanish Civil War

188 The Levellers

190 American Tour

192 Branch News

193 Meetings

Party Notices

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Telephone Macaulay 3811

December 1961 Vol 57 No 688

Stalin-the God who fell

For Stalin, the final disgrace.

His simple grave now mocks the memory of the days when he was the great dictator, who could make Krushchev caper like a court jester.

It mocks, too, the memory of the fulsome praise that was heaped upon him when his pitiless rule was at its height. Here is part of a poem which was published in *Pravda* on August 28th, 1936:

*O Great Stalin, O Leader of the Peoples,
Thou who didst give birth to man,
Thou who didst make fertile the earth,
Thou who dost rejuvenate the Centuries,
Thou who givest blossom to the spring, . . .*

And this is Krushchev himself, speaking at the eighteenth Congress in 1938 on the extermination of Stalin's opponents:

... Our victory in defeating the fascist agents—all these despicable trotskyists, bukharinists and bourgeois nationalists—we owe above all to the personal effort of our great leader, comrade Stalin. . . . Long live the towering genius of all humanity, the teacher and the guide who is leading us victoriously to Communism, our beloved comrade Stalin.

Now that the truth about the "beloved comrade" is officially acknowledged in Moscow, we can expect some more rewriting of history, just as it was when Stalin wanted to eliminate the memory of his enemies.

In England the Communist Party will be in confusion for some time. Always taking their line from Moscow, they were among Stalin's worshippers, and disregarded the facts about the Russian dictator which Socialists, and others, put before them. The latest change of policy will be hard to swallow, even for them.

In the Kremlin the power struggle continues. Perhaps Molotov and Voroshilov will go as others have gone before them. Perhaps Trotsky will be posthumously reinstated. Perhaps the Soviet government will gratify the historians who see similarities between twentieth century Russia and seventeenth century England by treating Stalin's corpse as Cromwell's was, after the Restoration. We can be sure that whatever happens will be excused in the name of the "Socialist Fatherland."

The Russian workers will probably accept this, in the manner of workers all over the world. How much more hopeful if they turned the belated denunciation of Stalin to good account. For what guarantee is there that Stalin's successors will be any better than the man they are now denouncing? None whatsoever. Yet the whole argument for having leaders must be in the assumption that they are beneficial to society. If they can turn out as Stalin did, the argument for them is destroyed. There is a lesson here for Russian workers and for those in other countries.

Let us repeat what we have often said before. The Soviet Union is not a Socialist country. It is a dictatorial capitalist country. Stalin was a dictator. So are Krushchev and his henchmen. All Socialists oppose systems like that in Russia.

Capitalism, whoever happen to be its leaders, can only bring misery and fear to the majority of people. It is useless to change one set of leaders for another. The real need is for the working class to gain enough knowledge to bring about Socialism.

That will be a world without dictatorships and suppression. Socialism will be a world of freedom.

THE NEWS IN REVIEW

Rising Prices

Remember those big balloons splashed all over the hoardings about ten years ago?

Remember what they said?

This was their message: The Conservatives will stop the rise in prices.

An effective appeal, at the time. Money wages had shot up to undreamt-of heights, but the voters were disappointed to find that prices accompanied them upwards. This wrecked the pre-war mirage of a glorious prosperity based on high wages.

For this reason, among others, the Tories came back in triumph to Westminster. A lot has happened since then and a lot has been forgotten; especially promises about reducing prices.

So the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had no need to tremble when he recently informed the House of Commons that, taking the purchasing power of the £1 as twenty shillings when the Tories got back in October, 1951, that same £1 note was now worth only 14s. 6d. A strange result of ten years of bringing down prices!

Naturally, the government have any number of excuses for their failure to keep their election promises. Most of them amount to the argument that they have been helpless in economic conditions outside their control.

This, of course, is not valid. The Conservative promise in 1951 that they would stabilise prices was in fact a claim that they could control Capitalism's economic tricks. Like others before them, they have failed.

Not that the government need worry. The workers have forgotten the rosy promises of 1951 and are now being bemused by the prospect of the £1,000 a year dustman. Capitalism will really start shaking when the workers despise all promises as worthless.

Strike at Margam

We might have expected some juicy headlines about the striker at Margam Steel Works, who turned up at the labour exchange in his Jaguar and parked it in amongst the smart cars of his fellow-strikers.

The pictures and the stories in the press were presumably intended to undermine the strikers' case by suggesting that

men who can afford to run a car have no need to strike.

This argument ignores one or two facts.

The bricklayers at Margam were engaged in unpleasant and dangerous work which put their health in great hazard. The Steel Company of Wales had agreed to the bricklayers doing this work under the "job and finish" rule and had allowed this rule to spread to men on a few other types of work.

Then S.C.O.W. decided that they were losing out on the deal and tried to change the rules.

The company cannot be blamed for attempting to defend their interests. Neither can the bricklayers be criticised for resisting an effort to impose a severe wage cut and a dangerous worsening of their working conditions.

For this sort of conflict is inevitable in Capitalism, with its population split into two groups whose interests are opposed.

The Margam strike, and the strikers' fast cars, drives the point home. Workers must always fight for their interests under Capitalism—even under what is called Affluent Capitalism.

Nothing makes any difference to this—not even the ownership of a car.

Fifty Megatons

Why did the Russians do it? It is an absorbing, if chilling, occupation to speculate upon the reasons for the thirty and fifty megaton explosions.

Was it to prove a point for Krushchev in the current struggle in the Kremlin over the diversion of industrial resources? Was it designed to get something moving in the perilous deadlock in Berlin? Or to make the Chinese sit up and take notice that Russia is much the more powerful country?

The bombs could have been let off as a move in any, or all, of these conflicts. It will be a long time, if ever, before we find out the reason.

One thing is certain now, for all to see. The conflicts are typical of Capitalism in the 'Sixties—and so are the bombs. And this could mean more bombs, more radioactivity, perhaps even bombs dropped in anger.

Is this the world gone mad, as the nuclear disarmers think? In fact, there is a terrible sanity about it. Capitalism has always had its wars and political disputes—who can expect it not to have the necessary weapons to settle its disputes?

But Capitalism has also always had its workers who are willing to support the system, although they may bemoan the horrors which it continually produces.

It is no getaway for them now to say that the bomb tests are a great, inhuman mistake, or the work of a callous government.

Capitalism means fear and insecurity for the people of the world. And this will go on until the people realise it and do something about it.

After the Motor Show

The Motor Show has been and gone. The bright lights of Earls Court are dimmed and the hectic publicity is over. Now come the harsh realities of trying to sell all the cars that were so enthusiastically praised.

As at all Motor Shows, there was the usual optimistic talk of large orders and encouraging sales. The big car-hire firms carefully saved their orders to coincide with the Show, as they do every year, and all the manufacturers expressed satisfaction with the Show. Nobody with any knowledge of the trade was deceived.

Apart perhaps from Jaguars, who did very well, all the manufacturers know that the struggle is going to be hard and that it will probably get worse before it gets better—if in fact it does. Motor sales have now reverted to their previous seasonal pattern and for the second winter running sales have gone into decline.

Of the Big Five, BMC and Ford are probably the least affected, but they also have their troubles. BMC's best seller is the Mini-minor, but they themselves have admitted that the ratio of profit on these is small. They have to sell a lot to make the balance-sheet look reasonable, let alone brilliant. Yet in overseas markets, at least those in which there is no favourable tariff to help them, Mini-minors are too dear to compete effectively with the home products of similar size. Price is also a handicap to Fords, but they have apparently decided nevertheless that the only way to get a foothold in such markets is to cut their prices. They have admitted, for instance, that they are selling some Anglias at cost so as to make an impression on the French market. It is more likely that after pay-

ing transport costs they are selling at a loss.

And Abroad

All the other big national producers have also held their Shows and are faced with the same problems. France had no less than three completely new small cars at the Paris Show which can only mean tremendous competition within the country and added threats to those outside. Volkswagen had their new larger car on show at Frankfurt, but are nevertheless continuing to turn out the old model at the fantastic rate of 4,200 a day. In yearly terms this is something like 800-900 thousand, about the same as the whole of British production will be this year. Italian car production is also rising rapidly, whilst at the same time they are thinking of steps to keep out steadily mounting imports. All these countries have plans similar to those of the British

manufacturers to expand output.

One thing they must all be wondering is how they are going to dispose of this output. It will be interesting to see how things develop during the next few months. There may be surprises in store.

U.S. & Common Market

One of the most surprising news-items of the month has been the report that the United States may have to consider joining the European Common Market. Further information is that President Kennedy intends to press for a freer trade policy and get rid of restrictive trade laws.

Yet only 15 years ago European Capitalism had almost been written off by the U.S. Even the vast quantities of dollar aid that were poured into Europe were given more as an emergency stop-

gap against Russia than in any expectation of a revival. Western Europe, in the eyes of American Capitalism, was "finished."

But the old-in-the-tooth Capitalists of Europe were not finished. One hundred and fifty years' experience of exploiting the working class was still there to form the basis for revival. Now the countries of the Common Market are a threat to American Capitalism and, if Britain also joins, this threat will really be formidable.

The United States is in fact in a very similar position to that of the U.K. a few months ago. British Capitalism is now trying to get into the Common Market and, if it succeeds, the new lineup will only step up the pressure on the U.S. to follow suit.

What a change in the short space of 15 years! When people ask us how long it will be before Socialism is established, do they ever stop to think how quickly things are now changing under Capitalism?

To the Editor



CND and SPGB

I note the news item on page 96 of the June issue and am glad, but not surprised, that CND members figured prominently at the St. Pancras Town Hall meeting earlier this year. Many CND members are sincere Socialists. Some are Labour Party members, others belong to the Communist Party and I suspect that there are a few members who carry a Liberal card. However, Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. George Brown have yet to apply for membership.

Parties have been playing at politics for a long time, but now the sands of time are running out. The threat of an universal nuclear war grows daily. CND members are always trying to persuade people that a nuclear war would be the final chapter in the world's history. We are trying to restore sanity to a divided world in which even the USSR finds it necessary to stockpile nuclear weapons. So, of course, does America. Before long, many smaller nations, regardless of their political systems, will possess the secret of thermo-nuclear mass destruction.

All sensible people realise that an international Socialist society, democratically elected in the true sense, is the main political hope for the future, but in order to allow and encourage the forces of the Left, we must ensure that there is a world left in

which to preach our propaganda, create a Socialist society; to fulfil basic human rights and thereby do the countless things that are still ignored by various political systems. Moreover, sensible people realise that a capitalist system is a complete contradiction of our aims.

Much more could be said and written about the anomalies of modern society but the contention on page 103 of the July *Socialist Standard* is disappointingly reactionary in its opposition and condemnation of CND. I would have expected certain elements in the staid Labour Party to believe in patchwork social democracy based on existing values of society, but for the SPGB to adopt an anti-CND stand, can hardly do your cause any good, but will have the effect of ensuring its insularity. If the SPGB succeeds in becoming a museum piece, such as the Labour Party seems destined to become, it will be because of this sort of confused, short-sighted policy.

No organisation which concerns itself with putting right the problems now confronting us, could be justified in maintaining this sort of opposition. I must assume, therefore, that the author of a "Lesson In Futility" (page 103) is not representative of his fellow members. However, the last sentence of his article is obviously faultless.

Bristol CND.

R. F. G. RADFORD.

[REPLY]

Let us clear up one point straight away. There are no Socialists in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. A Socialist wants a new social system based upon the common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution. He is not in favour of capitalism of any sort because he knows

that, whatever efforts are made to reform the system, it will continue to produce problems like war with its fearsome weapons.

How do the members of CND line up with this? Mr. Radford, when he writes that he suspects the organisation contains some Liberals, confirms that a member of CND may hold any sort of political views provided he is agreed that wars should not be fought with nuclear weapons. Because of this, CND can only be another organisation which stands for a reformed capitalism; in its case, capitalism in which wars are conducted with what have come to be called "conventional" weapons. No Socialist could belong to such an organisation. There may be many CND members who sincerely think that they are Socialists, but they are not the first to get themselves involved in that particular bit of muddle-headedness.

It is rather late in the day for CND, with its Labour and Liberal members, to tell us that time is getting short. For nearly sixty years the Socialist Party of Great Britain has been explaining the cause of modern war and pointing out that the means of waging war could be expected to become more fearsome as the years went by. But in this we have always been opposed by the very parties which, as Mr. Radford says, have supplied many members of CND. Whilst we have been explaining and opposing capitalism's wars our opponents have been busily fighting them and working to make them more destructive. Who is to blame, if we are now on the brink of "... the final chapter in the world's history?"

But our correspondent has to offer only the old plea that we should drop our work for Socialism until we have sorted out one more of capitalism's problems. We have heard this plea many times before, from organisations which were worried about un-

continued bottom page 182

IS THIS PROGRESS ?

THERE IS, as we know, a vast Industry of Words which works flat out to justify and sustain the Capitalist system of society. One of the comfortable assumptions which this Industry uses to oil its wheels is that the present time (whenever that may be) is one of enlightened civilisation. A Japanese steel company, for example, advertises its products to Western businessmen in the following terms:

The glow of the golden 'Sixties. The promise of the 'Sixties is a challenge to the imagination. How will the people benefit from the marvellous advances that are foreseeable?

And so on. The advertisement may not be intended for a wide readership, but the point it tries to make is pretty general. The present is a good time to be living in. The past is rather doubtful—mistakes were made, foolish things were done, or foolishly left undone. Now, we have learnt our lesson.

How true is this? Was the period between the two World Wars, for example, any better than that since 1945? The 'Twenties were certainly a classical period of cynicism and disillusionment. Strangely the boys in Fleet Street and Tin Pan Alley, who are good at such things, have always found it difficult to revive any popular nostalgia for the period. Perhaps it is because the frantic dances, the weird hair styles and clothes and

what they called the "new morality"—although goodness knows there was nothing new about it—were the reactions of a generation bewildered by one of the most dreadful wars in history.

The tiniest village in England can show its memorial to a shockingly long list of young men who died in that war. And they died in such awful ways. They drowned in the mud at Paschendaele, they were slaughtered by the Turkish infantry at Gallipoli. It was so different from what everybody had been expecting when the British workers swarmed cheering into the streets on August 4th, 1914. Few among those delirious crowds could have foreseen the long, bloody anguish that quickly deprived them of all desire to cheer.

The 'Twenties saw what politician's promises are worth. During the war there was no lack of well-kept ministers to assure the people who were actually doing the dying that they did not suffer for nothing. Some of the emptiest of the promises and the silliest of the blather have gone down in history and are still remembered with sardonic smiles. For there are still plenty of men who can recall coming home from the trenches to join the long queues at the labour exchanges. There are still bitter memories of the Means Test—so much so that the very name has political danger—and of official tricks like the "Not Genuinely

Seeking Work" clause which were meant to deprive the unemployed of even the pitifully small dole. The 'Twenties were a time of brutal Capitalist reality. Who can be surprised that people were bewildered and cynical?

As the years turned into the 'Thirties, there opened the long list of international conflicts—the invasion of China, the attack on Abyssinia, the German expansion in Europe—which led up to the Second World War. And the 'Thirties had the supreme example of cynicism and despair.

It is difficult adequately to explain why Fascism was so popular in Germany and not in other countries in which conditions were broadly the same. Whatever the explanation for this, there is one thing which can be said. Fascism, with its reliance upon the strong man leader theory and its extreme racialism, is the desperate product of despair. An unemployed man, or a man who cannot find a home for this family, is easy prey for the first rabble rouser who will point a finger at the Negro and say that he is filling all the jobs and living in all the houses. Or perhaps the Jew comes under the lash because, says the racist, he owns the country and so controls what goes on in it.

This is so obviously a doctrine of ignorance and despair that simply to state it is to expose its weaknesses. But when ignorant workers are having Capitalism's problems thrown in their faces, and when they are shocked and bewildered and desperate, it is just the sort of theory that can find favour with them. That is part, at any rate, of the explanation for the rise of Fascism in Europe and of the astounding, dreadful things that it did there.

It is not wonderful, then, that some people recall the years between the wars with a shudder, as rather like a bad illness which came to its crisis in 1939. Many political commentators—and the Labour Party, naturally—like to write off those years as the devilish work of That Man Baldwin who, they say, was content to suck his pipe and gaze at his pigs in Worcestershire while the rest of the world decayed around him. Baldwin was certainly an unflappable Prime Minister, a long time before the word got pinned on to Supermac. He was an astute politician who played the game as dirtily as he had to. But to blame him for a whole period of brutality is to side step the facts. Because when Baldwin was gone, hated and derided, the world went on the same

our correspondent calls "... the existing values of society." For any social system is inseparable from its values; to support one is to uphold the other. The SPGB has always stood for the social revolution which will sweep away capitalism and all its false social values.

This will be the complete, only and once-for-all cure for the problems of capitalism. To stand for anything less could mean that we would end up by supporting the very thing which we originally professed to oppose. That is why a one-time pacifist could serve as a Minister of War and why old opponents of the peerage system sometimes end their days in the House of Lords. It is why people who are now members of CND will, if capitalism requires them to, fight in a nuclear war just as the pacifists of the nineteen thirties took part in the last war.

As far as the last paragraph of Mr. Radford's letter is concerned, we need hardly add that the anti-CND attitude expressed in the article "Lesson In Futility" is representative of the viewpoint of all members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

CND and SPGB from page 181

employment, or Fascism or some other side-effect of capitalism. Indeed, some of these organisations have had the chance to apply their reformist ideas. How have they turned out? Both Labour and Communist governments have built up massive armed forces for their capitalist class and they have made sure that those forces were equipped with enormous stocks of powerful weapons. They have also played their part in keeping the divisions of the capitalist world which Mr. Radford mentions, by their export drives, patriotic propaganda and so on. Here is evidence enough to support the Socialist claim that reformist policies are futile.

And why does Mr. Radford say that even "... the USSR finds it necessary to stockpile nuclear weapons"? Russia is as much a capitalist nation as any other and cannot be expected to react any differently in face of international competition. Does Mr. Radford think that there is Socialism in Russia? And if he does, do the other "Socialists" in CND agree with him?

It is the reformist organisations which, in their support of capitalism, uphold what

merry way.

The Second World War may not have shocked, in the social sense, as harshly as its predecessor did. But it lacked nothing in barbarity. There has, for example, recently been published the details of the great wartime bombing controversy between Tizard and Lindemann. These men were highly trained scientists who hardly seemed able to avoid arguing. One of their bitterest clashes was over the question of whether the Royal Air Force should have bombed German civilians. Neither of them argued that it would be callous, even by their lights, to deliberately attack a civilian population. They fought over whether the air force was capable of doing the job and whether, if it was done, it would have any considerable effect on the German war effort. There is no need to suppose that either man had an emotional case; both of them went into it armed with cold calculations in terror and destruction.

While this was going on, the politicians were soothing us with their promises, some of which are supposed to have been fulfilled in the so-called Affluent Society. "Affluence" means that workers, apart from a few million in the USA and Canada and a few hundred thousand in this and other countries, are fairly secure in their jobs. Some can buy a car—sometimes even a new one. They can take on the lifetime burden of a mortgage on a house—because they have given up hope of getting one by any other method. How affluent can poverty get?

And do not let us forget the shadow under which the Affluent Society has grown up. Almost since the end of the last war, the world has been split into two great armed camps in dispute over the exploitation of markets and the possession of raw materials. The politicians have made countless threatening speeches. The Russians have let off their massive bombs and promised us that we have only seen a half of it. The American Secretary of Defence has replied that his country's military power is virtually irresistible. The Affluent Society eats its food and breathes its air only after they have been soiled by the fallout. The world is as full of fear as ever.

There are plenty of organisations to complain about this. At a recent conference of the World Parliament Association, the organisation's secretary-general drew some tempting pictures of the benefits which he thinks would result if some of the £1,600 million a year being spent on armaments by the British government were diverted to other uses. For £150 million every family in the country could be decently housed within

twenty years. For £200 million the roads could be improved, possibly to save 20,000 lives a year. Anybody can do this sort of arithmetic. The point is, why don't governments divert their country's money into houses, roads, and so on?

We all know the politicians' answer to that one. Of course, they murmur, it is all very regrettable. Nothing would please us more if we could pack up making all those beastly guns and bombs and build houses instead. The trouble is we have got to live with the Russians (or the Americans, depending upon who is answering the question) and they've got a big army. If we don't watch out, they'll start moving into parts of the world where we are boss at the moment. We must have armies and weapons, you know, to stop that sort of thing.

What this means is that Capitalism is bound to throw up its disputes because it splits the world into competing economic groups. The armies, the guns, the aircraft and the bombs are there to influence the dispute and if need be to fight it out. The late Aneurin Bevan summed it up

when he appealed to a Labour Party Conference some years ago not to vote to ban nuclear weapons. Such a vote, he said, would mean that if he were to become Foreign Secretary he would have to go "naked" into the conference chamber.

The nations of Capitalism must arm themselves. must coldly work out the damage and death potential of their weapons, must perpetrate some of the most barbaric acts the human race has ever experienced. Sometimes human credulity breaks under the strain of it all and we are swept into the crazy, hard-boiled 'Twenties. Or bewilderment fertilises ignorance and breeds the maniacal savagery of racialism. The desperate, bloody story goes on, period after period, changing perhaps its form, but never its miserable content. The 'Twenties and 'Thirties may have been bad times, but nothing that has happened since has made them look worse by comparison. Capitalism Past is no better than Capitalism Present.

IVAN.



December 1911

TRUST BUSTING IN AMERICA

Many worthy people have fondly cherished the notion that Roosevelt and his fellow Republicans meant "doing for" the trusts. Our Liberal advertisement sheets have praised him for his "great fight" and accepted him as the enemy of monopoly. But, true to capitalist methods, when something more than mere words and rhetoric is required, he turns round and defends the trusts and ridicules the idea of destroying them. In the current issue of the *Outlook*, Mr. Roosevelt says:

"The big business has come to stay and it is futile to expect to return to the old days of *laissez-faire*. The government must see this and refrain from keeping

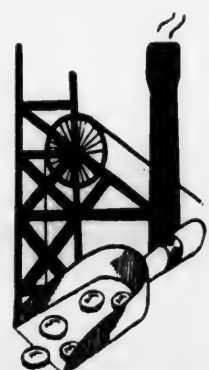
American industries on tenterhooks and permitting foreign rivals to reap an advantage."

In the course of his article he denounces the government for interfering with the Steel Trust and calls President Taft's policy a "chaotic" one.

So much for capitalist politicians. When they seek office they tell their poor followers that trusts can be smashed by anti-trust laws. But in the calm of other days the truth so often driven home by Socialists emerges—that combination and concentration of capital is an inevitable result of economic laws. That is the tribute of Theodore Roosevelt to Karl Marx.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, December 1911

FINANCE



INDUSTRY

AGAINST MONOPOLY

RIP INTO English industrial history in any century since William the Norman and you will find monopoly and restraint of trade in the news: the early Acts forbidding traders to corner supplies; Acts fixing prices (not forgetting Selwyn Lloyd's 12th century predecessors fixing wages); the Tudor and Stuart kings raising revenue by selling monopoly licences to manufacture certain articles; the corn laws which restricted imports to give the landed interest a monopoly of food production; the manufacturers' fight to get rid of the laws so that food prices, and wages, would come down; and the governmental inquiry in 1916 which found that "there is at present in every important branch of industry in the United Kingdom an increasing tendency to the formation of Trade Associations and Combinations having for their purpose restriction of competition and the control of prices." Always the same pattern of one interest trying to form a monopoly and other interests trying to break it; and always both sides saying that their only motive is to help the poor.

The monopolists have never been at a loss to present a defence: that they are not putting up prices but "stabilising" them; that it makes for efficiency in production; and, in recent years, that it provides regular employment for the workers at high wages.

In another column a paragraph is reproduced from our issue of December, 1911, about the foolishness of expecting the politicians to carry out their promise to bust the trusts and destroy monopoly. Four years before that, a university lecturer on political economy, Mr. Frank Bower, noted in his *Dictionary of Economic Terms* that although "attempts have been made to secure legal control over Trusts, in order to prevent the evil effects of monopolies, . . . these efforts have not been very successful."

Many laws have been passed since then to cut the giants down in size and enforce competition, but all that has happened

is that the giants have grown fatter and stronger, and still the reformists are promising to do something about it. At the 1945 General Election the Labour Party pledged itself to enforce "public supervision of monopolies and cartels." The Tories countered with the promise that "charges of abuse of their power by Monopolies should be brought before an independent tribunal for public hearing."

The Labour Party won the election and kept their promise by passing the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Act of 1948—the effect of which was practically nothing. So the Tories at the 1951 election promised to strengthen the law, a move to which the Labour Party could hardly object, but at the same time the Tories said they intended to investigate restrictive practices by trade unions and the monopolistic aspects of nationalised industries. They later passed two more Acts, The Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission Act, 1953, and the Restrictive Trade Practices Act of 1956. Now it was the turn of the Labour M.P.s. to complain that it was not enough, but none of them seem to know quite what to do. So much so that the Fabian Society at the end of 1960 published a pamphlet by Mr. Patrick Hutber, not stating any Fabian Society conclusions, but putting forward personal suggestions for discussion in the "urgent" task of formulating a new policy. (*Wanted—a Monopoly Policy*).

In the meantime, because of the spate of take-overs and mergers of the past few years, the problem has become bigger. How farcical it all is can be seen from the fact that the first Fabian Essays published 80 years ago were already discussing what to do about monopolies.

One of Mr. Hutber's proposals is that the Restrictive Practices Court should have power to threaten an offending company, that if it persists in its evil ways, the government would take it over. This proposal, he says, "is new." Far

from being new, it was an idea well known to the early Fabians and was ancient even then. It was Gladstone, then a Tory, who in 1844 was responsible for the first Act of Parliament giving the Government power to take over the railways. Manufacturers and traders who were being bled by the monopolistic railways had got Gladstone to pass the Act so that he could use it as a threat against the Companies unless they reduced their charges. (Nowadays traders are more likely to think that the nationalisation remedy is worse than the disease).

In the exercise of the powers given by the Act an enormous amount of work has been done examining complaints, ordering the termination of offending monopolistic or restrictive agreements, but with what result? The *Economist* (16/4/60) examined the results of all this activity. Since the purpose of the restrictive practices by manufacturers and traders is to force up prices to get more profit the simple test of the effect of the Act is to see to what extent it has succeeded in bringing prices down. The *Economist* had this to say:

Mr. T. B. Heath of Manchester University has recently produced some extremely interesting analyses of its effects. Mr. Heath has concluded that the effect of the Act on the general level of prices has so far been very small. To date, the visible effect of the Act on retail prices has been almost nil.

What happens is that as soon as the law makes some practice illegal the lawyers get to work to discover ways of getting round it. One new and perfectly legal device is for manufacturers to agree not to fix prices (which would be illegal), but to make what are called "open price" agreements under which they set up a control agency to exchange information about the prices each manufacturer is charging, about the terms and conditions of sale, costs, the state of demand and level of output. The use they make of the information can be guessed.

Another result of the activities under the Monopolies Act has been to stimulate mergers by rival firms; if it is illegal for rivals to agree on price maintenance it is quite legal for them to merge.

Mr. Hutber, in the pamphlet referred to above, admits that after an earlier phase of anxiety among businessmen, the position at the time he was writing, was: "everything apparently going on very much as before, so that instead of gratified economists and dismayed businessmen, it is the businessmen who are gratified and the economists dismayed."

It is claimed by some critics of the Monopolies Acts in Britain that things are different in America; and indeed the battle there has been going on longer and

more ruthlessly. In April of this year the American electrical manufacturing industry was convicted for breaches of the anti-trust laws. Seven directors were sent to prison and fines of two million dollars were imposed. But those who started waging war against the Standard Oil Trust in the eighteen eighties were not promising that after eighty years the battle would be going on.

In USA, as in Britain in Gladstone's day, the fight is in internal capitalist one, between the trust formers and their trade victims. The *Financial Times* (31/10/61), reports from New York:

A large number of government agencies, private utilities and Municipal authorities, all of which have been among the industry's biggest customers, have been preparing to claim damages from their suppliers on the grounds that the price-fixing conspiracies kept prices too high. If all the claims were upheld by the courts, the manufacturers might be obliged to pay out as much as a hundred million dollars in damages.

In the meantime, as Marxists have always held, the progress of Capitalism has involved the inevitable trend towards concentration into bigger and more costly enterprises. As Sir Hugh Beaver, former President of the Federation of British Industries wrote two years ago:

There is a natural tendency to extol the virtues of the small man, and many seem to deplore the growth of big business, but it cannot be forgotten . . . that we live in a world where all units are increasing in size and importance.

(*Financial Times Annual Review*, 1959.)

It was possible in the early nineteen twenties for J. R. Clynes, a trade union Labour M.P., who was later Minister in a Labour Government and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, to write that "it was better to have a large number of small Capitalists than a small number of large ones." It would be almost unthinkable for a trade union Labour M.P. to make such a declaration today. (Ironically Clynes made the statement in the preface to a pamphlet, *The Failure of Karl Marx*, which purported to prove that Marx was wrong in his anticipation about the trend of Capitalism).

Nowadays the Unions and the Labour Party have fully accepted Capitalist big business, but are troubled by the dilemma of both wanting business to be big and powerful for competition with foreign rivals and of wanting to curb its power at home. The possibility of a Socialist world in which you do not have to curb market seeking, profit making industries because you have production solely for use, is still beyond their grasp.

H.

THE PASSING SHOW

Ghana Visit

It has finally been decided, after many comings and goings, that the Queen's visit to Ghana is still on. Mr. Duncan Sandys, the British diplomats in Ghana, the Prime Minister himself—all have been called on to take some part of the responsibility, all have had a hand in the final decision along with the other members of the Cabinet. The only person who doesn't seem to have been consulted is the person whose safety, after all, is at stake—the Queen herself. There could hardly have been a more striking illustration of the position the monarchy now holds as against the ruling class. The Capitalists having taken over the state and the machinery of government, they have either converted the governmental instruments of the old landowner-ruled society to their own uses, or have allowed them to survive merely as powerless ceremonial appendages. Even though at the beginning of the visit it seemed not improbable, after several recent anti-Nkrumah bomb explosions, that there would be some attempt at violence as the Queen and Nkrumah rode together through the towns of Ghana, the Queen had no choice in the matter. The Government, the Capitalists' executive committee, had decided that she was to go. And since the monarch in Capitalist society is no more than a puppet, she was constitutionally bound to "take her minister's advice"—i.e., do as she was told.

Criticism

Recently Nkrumah, as the chosen right hand of the Ghana ruling class, has been revealing more and more clearly what kind of society the Ghana rulers have decided on. It is now an offence punishable with jail to "defame" the President, which seems in practice to cover any kind of criticism of him. It is not the first time a Capitalist class have decided that a dictatorship suits them best in a given set of circumstances, nor will it be the last.

But what can be said of some of the newspapers, such as the *Daily Express*, who are now deploring Nkrumah's dictatorial methods? Only a decade ago, when there was just as much of a dictatorship in Ghana as there is now—the only difference being that the dictatorship was then run by the British ruling class instead of the Ghanaian ruling class—the *Daily Express* had no objection to the dictatorship at all. It

seems that it isn't the dictatorship itself that they object to: only the particular set of people who happen to be running it. The record of the *Daily Express* on the matter deprives it of the right to criticise. Only those who criticised the British dictatorship of the past can logically now criticise the Nkrumah dictatorship of the present.

Fall Out

A most significant fact of the giant Russian H-bomb which was exploded at the end of October—the one intended to be fifty megatons, which apparently turned out to be even larger—was that Russia exploded it at home in its own territories. The people who will suffer most from the fall-out from this bomb are the Russian working class. Which is another demonstration that the Russian rulers, for all their pretence that their state Capitalism is a form of "Socialism," in fact show as much contempt for the interests of their own workers as any Western ruling class could.

Horrible to think

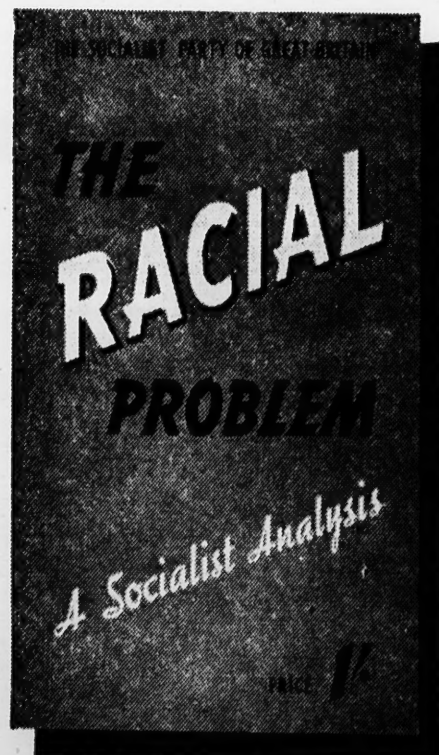
In an article in *The Observer* (5/11/61) on this explosion, Mr. John Strachey, M.P., said:

It is horrible to think that an appreciable number of human beings will be crippled either mentally or physically over ensuing generations in order that Mr. Khrushchev should attempt to terrorise the world in this way. But I am afraid this may be part of his calculation.

Mr. Strachey is somewhat illogical. Of course it is horrible to think of the crippled or mentally deficient children who will be born as a result of the bomb's explosion, merely in order that Mr. Khrushchev should take another step in his attempt to terrorise his enemies into submission: but how does this differ from the millions of human beings crippled or killed outright by the British ruling class in the last two world wars, undertaken so that the British rulers could impose their will on their then enemies? Do we have to remind Mr. Strachey that at least in the second of those wars he was a prominent Labour M.P., supporting the war to the hilt? If it is "horrible" for the Russian ruling class now, why was it right for the British ruling class then? Mr. Strachey is a little too selective with his horror.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Read



SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

For a socialist analysis of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

BOOKS

Twenty Five Years After

The Spanish Civil War
Hugh Thomas, Eyre & Spottiswood.
42s.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR began 25 years ago and Mr. Hugh Thomas thinks that the time has come when a study could usefully be made of a tragedy which though dwarfed by subsequent world events, nevertheless cost 600,000 lives, including about 100,000 "who may be supposed to have died by murder or summary execution."

He has made a very good job of collecting and presenting information on the complex and fast-moving events of the three-year Civil War. In his 720 pages he carries the reader forward from the election of the Popular Front Government in 1936 to the revolt that faced it soon afterwards; through the military campaigns with their alternating advantage first to one side then the other, to the final collapse of the Republican forces in March, 1939. Six months later the principal governments that had helped or hindered the Republican forces in Spain were involved in the World War—all except Spain itself, under the victor of the civil war, General Franco.

The League of Nations which had been impotent to do anything about the "local" war was brushed aside by World War II. Yet when that war ended and the United Nations inherited the shabby mantle of the League, Spanish Republican Exiles had still learned so little that they were hoping that the new organisation would dispose of Franco.

It might have been expected that the world war and all that has happened since would have destroyed interest in the Spanish Civil War, but the steady stream of books proves otherwise. It is not the size and destructiveness of the war, but the passions aroused in participants and onlookers alike that make it still memorable. There is also the inevitable speculation about what would have happened if only some politician or party had turned in a different direction at the crucial moment.

It is memorable, too, for the flood of outside volunteers who wanted to help. Some adventurers were bound to be attracted to Spain in the Civil War, but the majority of the 40,000 volunteers from France, Germany, Britain and U.S.A. and many other countries who

joined the International Brigades were men anxious to fight and, if necessary, willing to die, "for democracy and against Fascism." (Doubtless the same idealistic motives sent Irish and other Catholic volunteers to fight for Franco "in defence of religion.")

Many soon became disenchanted when they found that war is not just dying, but living in mud and blood and hardship, and enduring the indignities of army discipline—they were learning again what their fathers who volunteered for war in 1914 could have told them. Mr. Thomas writes of early 1937:

The volunteers had discovered in battle that "a war of ideas" is much the same as any other conflict. In Spain, or elsewhere, there was confusion of orders, jamming of rifles at the critical moment, uncertainty about the whereabouts of the enemy and of headquarters, desire for cigarettes (or sweet-tasting things), fatigue, occasional hysteria. . . . From the start, the wilder volunteers had got into trouble with the authorities, if only for drunkenness. But now trouble was incessant. Those who wished to return home were not permitted to do so when they wished. Some complained that they had volunteered on the assumption that they could go home in three months' time. Here the principles of a volunteer army conflicted with military needs. (P. 390.)

Some deserted and landed up in military detention camps ("re-education camps") and some were shot as deserters.

But, of course, the war was not won and lost by the volunteers, but by the intervention of foreign governments Germany, Italy and Russia. And the fighting men were to discover then, or after the war, that governments have reasons of State and of profit that have little to do with the slogans and speeches about democracy and religion.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists and others on the Republican side, who quarrelled bitterly with the Communists, were particularly incensed because Russian military aid had to be paid for; partly with the £63 million of Spanish gold that was early sent to Russia for safe keeping.

Mr. Thomas dismisses as unreal the charge that the Russians "cheated" the Republicans of the money, but concedes (p. 310) "that Russia drove a hard bargain for her goods. In addition to the gold, Spanish raw materials were despatched to Russia in bulk."

Typical of the beliefs of Spanish critics of Russia was a statement published in London in 1941 by their Anarchist friends, in a pamphlet *The Russian Myth*:

No arms or food were sent to Spain before the end of October—three months after Franco had rebelled. Immediate payment in gold was insisted upon by Stalin for such arms as were sent.

The writer of the pamphlet went on to contrast Stalin's insistence on cash down, with "Hitler and Mussolini, who gave Franco long-term credits—still in part unredeemed." He was quite wrong; German Capitalism might bait the hook with long-term credits, but not out of charity; only because a really big fish was to be caught, Spanish mineral wealth. It was German aid that was finally decisive in the autumn of 1938, but the price exacted for the arms "was German participation in all the important iron ore projects in Spain. In return for this rich prize Germany committed enough war material to Spain to tip the balance finally towards the Nationalists" (p. 612).

Mr. Thomas notes that in August, 1936, after German military help had already reached the Republican Government's enemies in Spain, the Government was trying to buy war planes in Germany (p. 235). There is no evidence to show that Germany considered supplying the planes. If they had been in doubt they would have been duly influenced by the fact that the mineral wealth they were after in Spain was in Franco-controlled provinces.

Apart from foreign intervention with war material, troops, planes and pilots, and naval action, Mr. Thomas contrasts Franco's success in getting a high degree of unity among his supporters with the way the Republican Government was "terribly hampered by the disputes between the parties who supported it" (p. 611). He goes on:

One excuse might be that all the parties felt so strongly about their own policies that defeat itself seemed preferable to a surrender of the purity of their individual views. It would perhaps be more truthful to say that no one was able to forge a real unity out of the Republican warring tribes as Franco and Serrano Suner were able to do among the Nationalists. (P. 611.)

Failing to get aid from the West the Spanish Government had to rely more and more on Russia and the Communists—which only increased the division in its own ranks.

In April, 1939, the National Committee representing the Spanish Confederation of Labour (Anarcho-Syndicalist), the Anarchists and some other bodies published a statement, *Three Years of*

Struggle in Spain, giving their version of events and the reason for failure. The virulence of their charges against Russia and the Russian-directed Spanish Communists shows that Mr. Thomas has understated the impossibility of Republican Unity. The National Committee bluntly declared, on the strength of their experiences in the just-ended civil war:

Neither in war nor revolution has anti-fascist Spain had a worse enemy than Stalinism. . . . What unity did the Communist Party expect or attempt to establish? None whatever—Agents of the U.S.S.R. murdered thousands of non-Stalinist Comrades who had come to Spain and joined the International Brigades. . . .

They accused the Communists of almost every crime that they had charged against Franco, plus desertion and cowardice. They still half-believed that, but for the Communists, they would have won against Franco and his allies.

Along with evidence on which the reader can base an opinion, Mr. Thomas sums up his own by saying that most of the governments were using the opportunity of the Spanish conflict to test out weapons and study tactics for future use in larger wars. This included Republican France, and it was Leon Blum who at his trial in 1942 spoke of the Spanish war as a "test for French aviation material" (p. 615). Of course, Germany, Russia and Italy were exploiting the same opportunity, though it is one of the ironies of the situation that most of the observers appear to have drawn the wrong lessons or failed to profit by the right ones. The exceptions were the Italians and Yugoslavs who learned a lot about the kind of war the Partisans were to carry on later in both countries.

Other than that, the intervening and non-intervening governments were thinking about alignments and manoeuvring for position for the threatening world war. Each government, however, seems to have been hesitant about pushing intervention so far as to provoke that war immediately.

When the Spanish democrats complained about the governments of Britain, France, Russia and U.S.A. not being prepared to take all measures to save Republican Spain "for the sake of democracy," they were forgetting that all Capitalist groups (Russia included) are motivated by the same kind of economic and strategic interests: deciding policy on the basis of ideologies is not to be expected of any of them. If any Republicans still held this illusion in the Spring of 1939 when the Republican armies collapsed they had only to wait six months to see Germans and Russians who had

been warring in Spain for three years, hobnobbing together to celebrate the Stalin-Hitler pact of friendship.

But though all the other Powers were sooner or later caught up in World War II, Franco reversed the roles—he was willing to give aid to Germany, at a price, but he was not drawn into the war as a combatant Power. This did not save the Spanish Blue Division from sharing the horrors of the war in Russia, fighting alongside the German armies. On the Republican side, Mr. Thomas relates that Russian officers who fought in Spain were among those liquidated by Stalin in the purges (p. 621), and "nearly all veterans of the Spanish Civil War in Eastern European countries were arrested and many were shot." Later on, after the death of Stalin in 1953, they were "rehabilitated."

In the Epilogue in which Mr. Thomas briefly notes the subsequent fate of those who came to prominence in Spain, he tells of the Republican general El Campesino who as an exile was welcomed to Russia, but fell foul of the authorities. He escaped and in appalling difficulties made his way to Persia; only to be handed back by the British. He escaped again and is still hoping to unseat Franco. In El Campesino's own memoirs he says that what queered him with the Russian authorities was that, on being asked at a military academy which was the world's most effective fighting machine, he named the German army!

Mr. Thomas's material shows how heavily the scales were weighted against the Republicans in the international field. He expresses the opinion that "the financiers of Europe and America not only expected the Nationalists to win but desired them to" (p. 273). A vital help for Franco was that of the Texas Oil Co. was at once willing to supply oil on long-term credit, without guarantee.

Nevertheless, Mr. Thomas's implied criticisms of the American and British Governments seem designed to invite speculation as to what might have happened if, say, American Capitalism had had big and immediate interests endangered by a Republican defeat, or if those British Conservatives who supported the Republicans had been able to persuade the Government that long-term British Capitalist interests were involved and that they should support the Republicans and risk major war with Germany and Italy. In which event the world war may have come a little sooner.

Those who, for whatever reasons, hold the view that the workers should support war can say that in 1936 that risk was worth taking. But those who reject it had and have another aspect of the

continued page 188

Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

SPANISH CIVIL WAR from page 187

Spanish conflict to consider.

It is not merely being wise after the event to say that the Republicans' position was impossible and that civil war could not solve their problems. Many observers saw this at the time. The Popular Front which, by a bare majority of votes, won the 1936 election, was composed of such divergent elements that the aim of some of them; a sort of Labour-Liberal Parliamentary democracy, was at that time as much out of the question as the establishment of Socialism. There were the Communists, aiming to establish dictatorship on the Russian model; the Basque and Cathalonian separatists inspired by hatred of central government; and the very large body of Anarcho-Syndicalists who repudiated politics and parliamentary methods, which they called "empty phrasemongering," and who believed in direct action, violence, and armed revolt, as much against a Republican Government as any other. Their support for the Popular Front and the Popular Front Government was a denial of all their principles, regretted almost as soon as it was given.

If we concede that by some different balance of international Capitalist interests the Popular Front could have emerged victorious at the end of the civil war, what could they have done with victory that would have borne any resemblance to the democratic Spain they, or some of them, had hoped for?

H.

The Levellers 1640-1649

THE WORD "LEVELLER" was first heard in 1606 when a band of men roamed the Warwickshire countryside, uprooting or levelling fences and hedges enclosing the once-common lands. These detested barriers had been going up all over England for eighty years.

Enclosing the "waste-land" that from time immemorial had been common property brought increasing misery to the poor and greater wealth to the rich. Large areas were turned into sheep walks to satisfy the growing demand abroad for superior English wool. In Thomas More's *Utopia* we read, "The sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters now as I hear say be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves." Fresh ideas on farming and improved methods of stock-breeding made squires land-greedy. Enclosing was the polite name for stealing; people were driven from their homes to give pasture to sheep. Their only hope of survival lay in the towns; where they were fleeced even more closely than their woolly competitors.

Inventions and the necessity for larger ships meant bigger outlay and brought a demand for more money in the form of capital. A rich, powerful merchant class came into being. The first bank—the Bank of England, 1694—came with it.

The land lost much of its aristocratic value; the traditional obligations to tenant and labourer tended to disappear. The old tyrant with titles was often superseded by a new tyrant with money. Farmworkers were tricked out of rights of tenure. Though freed from the old bondage they were enslaved in a new and often terrifying system.

Throughout these tremendous changes Charles I remained obstinately feudal in outlook. Something was bound to happen. By 1628 the House of Commons was three times richer than the House of Lords. This gave its members confidence to resist the king's demands for money. So in 1629 he closed Parliament for eleven years, hoping to show his recalcitrant M.Ps. that he alone held power. But in 1639 a rebellion broke out in Scotland, and by 1640 he had been forced to recall Parliament to vote the necessary money to quell the rising. Here was the opportunity the Members had dreamed of. They knew that archaic notions of kingship must give way to a governmental system favourable to the merchants.

As a warm-up for their startling policy

they executed the king's chief minister, the Earl of Strafford, who had been raising an army in Ireland to crush Parliament. At the same time John Lilburne, leader of a "left-wing" group—the Levellers—was released from prison, where he had resided two years for issuing anti-State Church pamphlets. Now free, he got an Army command.

With this widespread opposition came a taste for democratic expression. The popularity of Cromwell's rising faction gave the Levellers a chance to speak out. How and where did they fit into the political ferment?

Parliament was divided. On the right were the Anglican Royalists, conservative and pro-Charles. On the left were the Independents, radical but not united. They were divided into a right-wing called Gentlemen Independents headed by Cromwell, Ireton, and Fairfax, and a left-wing known as the Levellers. The latter reflected the aspirations of small farmers, humbler-traders, work people and soldiers. They advocated greater political equality than the Independents and had a widespread popular support.

In addition to political demands the civilian arm of the movement (the Diggers) urged greater economic equality; and in recognising that all political organisations and freedoms spring from or are crushed by the particular mode of land-ownership, they earned for themselves the undying hatred of Cromwell.

At this stage the Levellers were welcomed by the Radicals. All through the struggle the Levellers did best in the army, perhaps because there they were better organised than the Diggers. Both issued a considerable mass of literature, the Levellers maintaining that economic freedom followed from political freedom, and the Diggers seeing it rather the other way.

Common-ownership of the land was the bed-rock of their philosophy. Stripped of its Biblical overtones it stated a view that is still a staggering novelty to millions today. "... the time will be when all men shall willingly come in and give up their lands and estates and submit to the community." They added, "and of that for money there was no need of it" (if men led communal lives). In the letter to Lord Halifax, Winstanley asked, "I demand whether all wars, bloodshed and misery came not upon creation when one man endeavoured to be a lord over another."

In an article in the Leveller paper, *The Moderate* in 1649, after some men were

executed for cattle-stealing, a writer suggested private property was the cause of a great deal of crime committed by the poor. "We find," he wrote, "some of these felons to be very civil men, and say, that if they could have had any reasonable subsistence by friends, or otherwise they should never have taken such necessitous courses for the support of their wives and families." The paper was suppressed after September, 1649, by "democratic" Cromwell.

The Levellers just as clearly saw that religion with its mirage of a happy future life was the carrot that encouraged the poor donkey of a labourer to stagger on. Winstanley wrote, "... to know God beyond the creation or to know what he will do to a man after the man is dead, in any other wise than to scatter him into his essences of fire, water, earth and air of which he is compounded (a belief handed down by the ancient Greeks) is a knowledge beyond the line or capacity of man to attain to while he lives in his compounded body." Richard Overton, too, wrote in *Man's Mortality* that the idea of the soul was ridiculous.

The New Model Army (Roundheads) was Parliament's striking force, its job to overthrow the king. But because its ranks were filled with many pro-Leveller men the Levellers saw in it a means of getting better conditions for the poor. On May 20th, 1647, "a great petition" was sent to the Commons demanding political reforms and the re-organisation of the Constitution. When the re-imprisoned Lilburne (he was in and out of gaol between 1646-1648 for various attacks on authority) heard that the common hangman had been instructed to burn it, he looked to the army for support. He declared the power of the land vested in the army, and at this point Cromwell agreed. Next, a manifesto, *The Case of the Army Truly Stated*, was presented to General Fairfax on October 15th, 1647, and later *An Agreement of the People*, which dealt more with civil matters.

Fearing the support gained by the Levellers, the Presbyterians compromised with Charles. Enraged, the Independents with the Levellers marched to London, entered the House and passed a measure to thwart any attempt to corrupt the army; the Presbyterians were crushed. Though Cromwell had been aided by the Levellers, he refused to free Lilburne. When we see what the Levellers were after, we can understand why! *The Case of the Army Truly Stated* listed thirteen points:

1. New election for new parliament.
2. House of Commons to be cleared of royalist sympathisers.
3. Army's supremacy to be made known officially.
4. Excise tax to be lifted from the poor, Better tax-laws.
5. Trials to be speeded up and improved conditions for prisoners.
6. Greater religious tolerance.
7. Abolition of tithes.
8. Oath of Supremacy to be abolished.
9. No oaths from those with conscience scruples.
10. Law reform to enable laymen to understand legal matters.
11. Removal of privileges. All to be subject to same laws.
12. Enclosed land to be returned to common use.
13. Pensions for disabled soldiers, widows and children.

The stir that these programmes made, forced Fairfax, Cromwell and the others Grandees (as they were somewhat derisively called) to allow their discussion in a series of debates held in Putney. Cromwell reasoned that if these fiery demands could be proved too extreme or impractical, Leveller influence would diminish and the threat to his supremacy would disappear. The main point was that the vote was the birthright of all men, and to this Ireton replied, "... voting was a property right. Only those who owned a house worth 40s a year in rent or who had a freehold interest in land should vote. The protection of private property was of the utmost importance, now that freedom had been won. Everyone was free to make money, and to own property, and the law was there to protect them while they did it." Rainborough for the Levellers retorted that what was required in voting was reason not property. And Sexby added, "... as things are today unless a man has fixed property, he has no rights in England at all."

Cromwell had the *Case of the Army* condemned in Parliament. Next, he set out to quell his army and persuade the least influenced to sign a pledge of loyalty at Corkbush Field, Ware, in Hertfordshire. There the *Agreement of the People* was presented to Fairfax. He accepted it, but told the men to go on signing and they did. But then up rode two dissenting regiments singing and wearing the Leveller colours. Immediately Cromwell drew his sword and rode angrily among them, tearing away their colours. His sudden action quietened them. The ringleaders were arrested;

three were found guilty and one of these was shot.

It was a serious defeat for the Levellers. They tried resistance again, but were imprisoned and Lilburne remained in the Tower. At Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight, Charles in 1648 launched another attack (the Second Civil War). All the contesting elements of Parliament sank their differences again in preparation for the fray. The artful Presbyterians released Lilburne, hoping he would stir the army to mutiny. But he supported Cromwell, presumably regarding him as the lesser of two evils.

After the royalist defeat more discussion on the *Agreement of the People* followed, and it actually reached Parliament, but lay in abeyance while the king's fate was decided. On January 30th, 1649, Charles, king by the grace of God, died by the grace of the merchants.

M. BROWN.

(to be concluded)

AMERICAN TOUR continued from page 191

On October 14th I left for Boston. Comrade Morrison had worked like a trojan and got me on two Radio programmes—one over the phone. Both were quite good—one lasted nearly a quarter of an hour and I have brought the tape of it back with me. Unfortunately Boston had received reports that I was in a bad way physically (in fact I was in excellent condition!) so they did not go out of their way much to advertise the meeting there. There was a good attendance of members and sympathisers. I gave a talk on the tour. Arising out of something I had said (nothing to do with the tour) there was an excellent discussion relating to war and the H-Bomb, in which there were contrasting views expressed.

There is a great deal I have missed out of this report on account of the limitations of space, and many members and sympathisers who gave me a warm greeting, but whose names I have had to leave out. I would like them all to know how much I appreciate what they did for me.

During the last two weeks in America I stayed with the Rabs, and I have to thank them for the warmth of their hospitality and the way they put themselves out to see that I had rest and recreation, including some lovely trips to see the magnificent autumn plumage—I have never seen anything like it before. Members here will also be glad to know that Comrade Gloss is well again and back in harness. He sends his greetings to all he met here on his visit (so also do Comrades Rab and Milne) and hopes to make another visit soon.

Finally I found in the States and Canada plenty of sympathy for our outlook, as shown in the questions and discussions, much more than on my previous two visits, and the future for Socialism is certainly brightening up on the other side of the Atlantic.

GILMAC.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)

PUBLIC MEETING
Sunday 10th December, 7.30 pm

KREMLIN FALL-OUT

Speakers: J. D'Arcy, H. Young

Denison House,
Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.1

Companion Parties

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich,
N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291
P.O. Sydney N.S.W.

Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

GLASGOW BRANCH LECTURES
(details see page 192)

The British Political Scene

A series of Lectures
every Sunday 7.30

ST. ANDREWS HALL,
Berkeley Street, Room 2, Door G

AMERICAN TOUR

AT THE BEGINNING of September I visited the World Socialist Party Conference in Boston as a delegate from the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

The Conference lasted two days and the subjects that came up, concerning reviews of past activities and methods of improving and increasing propaganda efforts in various directions, were discussed at considerable length, with enthusiasm and also, at times, with some heat! Owing to the vast distances between branches and groups over there the delegation present was of necessity not large.

At the outset taped and written greetings from all over the world were heard and read. Then various reports of the year's work were given. These showed a 100 per cent increase in subscriptions to the WS, an increase in the number of articles coming in for the paper, and a general resurgence in activity, particularly in Canada. The sending out of letters to Libraries and Colleges during the year had brought excellent results. A proposal to produce two new Pamphlets, one on the *Materialist Conception of History* and the other on *The WSP What it Stands For*, was referred to the Editorial Committee for attention.

A Conference Social was held at a member's house on the evening of the first day of conference. It was a very pleasant, comradely and lively affair, attended by about fifty members and friends.

On September 5th I left for Detroit, accompanied by comrades Rab and Orner, and we held three meetings there. They were small but interesting with plenty of questions. On the fourth evening there was a meeting at which a proposal to form a discussion group was agreed to. I have since learnt that the discussion group has made a very good start, at a place that has been rented, and a large number of interested people are attending it. The members concerned have put in a lot of time and energy to ensure its success. It appears to me that it is a method that could be widely copied.

On September 9th I left for Vancouver and Victoria—Comrades Rab and Orner going on to Chicago. On the morning of the 11th I was given a long newspaper interview in Victoria and a brief TV interview—it was cut short because of mechanical difficulties during the recording. The next day there was a good meeting in Victoria with plenty of questions and some opposition. There was a short disturbance at this meeting on account of the interruptions of a local celebrity. However this resulted in some considerable newspaper publicity.

After the Victoria meeting I went up the coast of Vancouver Island to Nanaimo, about 80 or so miles. I had an interview with the editor of the local paper and spoke at a meeting in the evening—not very well as I was feeling very tired. However there were interesting questions, particularly from some young people, and discussion. Com-

rade Stafford, a man 84 years old, proposes to run classes there—he writes regularly to local papers. After the meeting we had a hectic drive back to Victoria, arriving at 2 a.m.

The next meeting I spoke at was in Port Alberni, about 40 miles beyond Nanaimo. This was also a small but good meeting. One or two people came a long way to it. There was also an excellent report of the meeting in the local paper. The following day, Saturday, I left Port Alberni for Vancouver.

Before finishing with Vancouver Island I must express my appreciation of the excellent work being done there by Comrades Luff, Jenkins, Tickner and Poirier. The last three just swept me off my feet with their energy—they travelled to Nanaimo and Port Alberni to post bills and distribute leaflets advertising the meetings, as well as arranging for newspaper interviews and attending the meetings. They also received considerable help from sympathisers.

On September 16th I left Port Alberni for Vancouver. Comrades J. and M. Ahrens, Watkins and Cannon had been busy with Radio, TV, and the newspapers. In spite of strenuous efforts they were unable to get me on TV, but succeeded with Radio. They also sent out 150 letters advertising the meeting there and asking for financial support—they got in over 200 dollars.

I had a ten minutes interview on the Radio—Webster's Channel, and appeared on "Town Meeting"—a radio meeting that I understand goes across Canada and down into the northern part of the States. This was probably the best part of the tour. I appeared with three others—budding MP's—and we each had to supply a copy of the script which we read at the meeting. Mine lasted about nine minutes. Then we were given a short time to answer each other. After a short break in the radio whilst questions were collected from the audience, we each answered questions put to us by the audience, and then were given a short time to sum up. The studio was crowded with about 135 people and the subject we were speaking on was "What Future has Socialism in Canada".

The meeting that had been arranged in Vancouver was not large but there were plenty of questions and discussion. At the end of the Vancouver visit, Comrades J. and M. Ahrens took me for a long week-end to a bungalow they had built in the mountains where I was re-vitalised for the rest of the tour. I should add that the members are making strenuous efforts to get an open air meeting place in Stanley Park.

On September 26th I left for Winnipeg. There were two meetings there but the attendance was not good—possibly because the weather was perishing cold, about 20 degrees. However I was glad to renew acquaintance with old members and sympathisers there, who went out of their way to make my stay as pleasant as possible

—and it certainly was, in spite of the cold! Winnipeg has changed over the years. Old members have died or moved west and south-west, leaving the others to carry on under great difficulties. Some of those who left were active speakers.

On October 2nd I left for Toronto and Comrades S. and G. Catt and Comrade Brodie met me at the airport—literally falling on my neck! They are very much isolated there, but are doing a very good job stirring things up. An open discussion group has been formed not connected with any political party in which every week one of the members reads a paper, which is then discussed. I was invited to address the group. After I had opened up, questions were addressed to me for about 1½ hours, and then there was discussion. The business started around 8.30 p.m. and finished at 11.30 p.m. It seems to me to be a well

worthwhile effort. There are 21 members of the group and another 16 wish to participate.

On October 5th I left for Montreal late at night. Comrades George and Karla Ellenbogen have recently gone to live there and started stirring things up. I stayed with them, and the morning after my arrival the fun started. In the course of the morning three newspaper interviews were given and two TV. The whole of it lasted over 4 hours. Two leading French newspapers gave excellent reports running to about 1½ columns. There were also three English newspaper reports and one in the McGill University paper. The meeting in Montreal was excellent with plenty of questions and discussion. There should soon be a branch of the Socialist Party of Canada there and also in Toronto. I should also add that I was taken on an excellent trip to the

Laurentian mountains about 100 miles north and south along the Richelieu river. The autumnal colours were very good.

On October 10th I left for New York. There again I was glad to renew acquaintance with old members I had met on previous visits—including Comrade Orner, who is endowed with superlative energy. The meeting there was better than on my previous visits. The questions were slow in coming but there was plenty of discussion. I met a number of sympathisers, including a seaman who had met our comrades in London at the Russian Exhibition, and now wanted to join the WSP which shows how seeds sown at a venture can flower in distant places.

The New York members of the WSP meet regularly and open-air meetings are being held in Greenwich Village.

continued on page 189

SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept
52 Clapham High Street,
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me
Socialist Standard
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

BRANCH NEWS continued from page 192

hired a van, and throughout the week sold literature, inside and outside the Conference hall, held meetings, and made themselves known very effectively as representatives of the only Socialist Party in the country.

The van was decorated with Party posters and banners, and was stationed at various key points for literature drives and outdoor meetings. Sales totalled £9 6s. 0d. The detailed story of our comrades activities makes interesting reading, but unfortunately space limits us to this very brief report.

What must be said is that the trip was most successful, and the propaganda value was probably much greater than can be assessed at the moment. Next year it is intended to repeat ventures like this, and their growing success will be in no small measure due to the hard (though pleasurable) work done by our comrades this Autumn.

The debate organised by **Paddington Branch** on October 29th almost didn't take place, and then not quite. Mr. Headicar, the CND representative, "sat down" the previous Saturday and got himself two months imprisonment. At the last moment Mr. S. Cash agreed to put the case for CND. He maintained that Socialism was alright as a theory, but mankind was faced with annihilation and all our energies should be devoted to "banning the bomb." The SPGB were out of contact with the real world, and death would overtake us all, notwithstanding the propagation of Socialist ideas, unless nuclear weapons were abandoned.

In reply: Melvin Harris for the SPGB showed that CND was similar to many other bodies, which had sprung up in the past, attempting to tackle one or other evil of the capitalist system. These organisations had failed, and CND would fail for the same reason. Nuclear war can not be separated from the problem of war itself. And the constant threat and possibility of war was a direct consequence of the existence of capitalism. The Socialist Party

were opposed to all war, and were working for the establishment of Socialism, in which war would be impossible. This was the most important task facing mankind.

A considerable number of questions were put to both speakers, and many of the audience of 200 took part in the discussion. There was not nearly enough time for everyone. The collection was £13 and literature sales were good. Perhaps one day we shall land a debate with the elusive CND?

With sadness we have to record the death of two comrades, Llewellyn McKone and George Sword. **Llewellyn McKone** died on October 18th at Swansea. He had been a member of the Party since well before the war, and for many years was a member of Wood Green Branch. In recent years he had been working hard with our Swansea Comrades.

George Sword died at the end of October after a short illness. He joined the Party in 1942 and was active with a small group of members at their place of work, where they discussed Socialism and sold literature to their fellow workers. He was a member of Central Branch and until a year ago, when his health began to deteriorate, he worked in the Party Library and helped in the despatch of the *Socialist Standard* to subscribers.

To both our late comrades' families we extend our deepest sympathy.

P. H.

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm
East Street, Walworth
December 3rd and 24th (11 am)
December 17th and 31st (noon)
December 10th (1 pm)
Clapham Common, 3 pm

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

PUBLIC MEETING

Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, SW1.

Sunday, December 10th, 7.30 pm.

KREMLIN FALLOUT

Speakers: J. D'Arcy, H. Young.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Head Office, 52 Clapham High St., SW4.

Mondays 7.30 pm.

December 4th.

THE LONGHOUSE PEOPLE

Speaker: C. Wilson.

December 11th.

THEY CALL IT THE WHITE**MAN'S BURDEN**

Speaker: Gilmac.

December 18th.

STRIKE IN TOWN

Speaker: T. Fahy.

The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.

HACKNEY LECTURE

Bethnal Green Town Hall, E2.

Wednesday, December 13th, 8 pm.

NORTH AMERICAN JOURNEY

Speaker: Gilmac.

LEWISHAM LECTURES

Davenport House, Davenport Road, Catford, SE6.

Mondays at 8 pm.

December 4th.

RUSSIAN STATE CAPITALISM

Speaker: E. Hardy.

December 18th.

LENIN AND RUSSIA

Speaker: H. Baldwin.

PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.

Wednesdays at 9 pm.

December 6th.

OUR ATTITUDE TO TRADE**UNIONS**

Speaker: A. George.

December 13th.

SOCIALISM

Speaker: J. Keys.

December 20th.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CINEMA

Speaker: C. Wilson.

Branch News



Here is a way of increasing sales of the *Socialist Standard*. For eight shillings a year a copy will be sent to any address in the British Isles. A small amount of money really! Why not persuade a friend to take a subscription for 1962, or pleasantly surprise someone with a gift of one year's "Standards"? It is very simple. Complete the form on page 191 and return it to us at 52 Clapham High Street, with of course the 8s. postal order.

Over 57 years the *Socialist Standard* has held the torch for Socialism. Consistent, searching and uncompromising has been its advocacy for Socialism. But still our Party journal must be brought to more and more people. The greater its circulation the greater will be the impact of Socialist propaganda, and incidentally, the more economic will be the "Standards" cost of production.

Resolve in 1962 to increase your sales of the *Socialist Standard*, and redouble your energy in spreading the case for Socialism.

Wembley Branch were delighted with the success of their first indoor, public meeting on October 30th. "Introducing the SPGB" was Cyril May to a sizeable audience, mainly non-members. More than half the time was devoted to questions and discussion, and the audience took full advantage of it. Collection and literature sales were encouraging. Now for another and more ambitious venture in the near future!

The Branch's winter lectures are in full swing with a wide range of subjects, every other week. Full details will be found under meetings on page 192. All those who attend will find the meetings stimulating and worthwhile.

Wembley is holding their Xmas Social on December 16th at the Ealing Park Tavern. "Joe's Group" will supply the music, and a repeat of last year's success is certain. Everything will be laid on, and if you don't enjoy yourself, it will be your own fault. Full information is on page 191.

Ealing Branch is continuing its winter activities with a showing of Eisenstein's film "Strike" on December 8th. Comrade Ambridge is providing the comment. Owing to the length of the film, please note that the showing will begin at 7.45 p.m. prompt. Further lectures and film shows are being planned for January, February and March 1962.

Blackpool Lights. Reference was made in this column last month to a literature selling trip made by some members to the Blackpool Labour Party Conference. They

continued page 191

GLASGOW MEETINGS

St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street, Room 2, Door G.

Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt throughout the winter until April 29th.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE

December 3rd.

LABOUR PARTY AT THE CROSS ROADS

Speaker: J. Craig.

December 10th.

WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY FAILS

Speaker: J. Mulheron.

December 17th.

A LIBERAL REVIVAL

Speaker: D. Donaldson.

December 24th.

WHERE THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY STANDS

Speaker: J. D'Arcy.

POWER POLITICS

January 7th.

AMERICA: LAND OF PARADOX

January 14th.

MIDDLE EAST POWDER KEG

January 21st.

WHAT'S AT STAKE IN GERMANY

January 28th.

STRUGGLE FOR THE CARIBBEAN**EALING FILM**

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing Broadway.

Friday, December 8th, 7.45 pm.

EISENSTEIN'S "STRIKE"

Speaker: R. Ambridge.

Wembley Branch
Saturday 16th December
7.30-11.30 pm

Grand Xmas SOCIAL

- ♦ "JOES BAND"
- ♦ REFRESHMENTS FREE
- ♦ LICENSED BAR

Ealing Park Tavern
South Ealing Rd., W.5
(nr. South Ealing Underground)

Admission 3/6 (Tickets Only) from
R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Rd., Ealing, W.5

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.4